

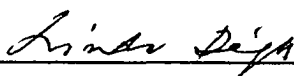
**A BALTIC MUSIC:  
THE FOLKLORE MOVEMENT IN LITHUANIA, LATVIA, AND ESTONIA, 1968-1991**

**Guntis Šmidchens**

**Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Department of Folklore,  
Indiana University**

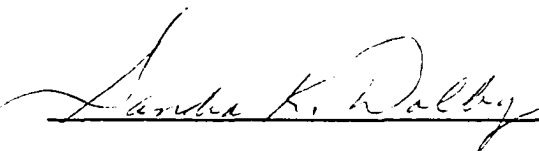
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Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.



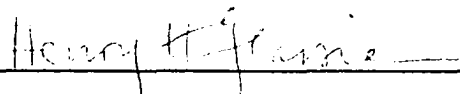
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Linda Dégh, Ph.D.



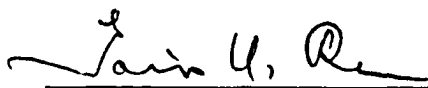
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Toivo U. Raun, Ph.D.

September 1, 1994

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**There is a Baltic music beyond words  
and language...**

**— Ivar Ivask**



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when I had given up hope. The staff at the Indiana University Folklore Institute (Syd Grant, Velma Carmichael, Ruth Aten, Camille Rice) helped keep my academic house in order while I was abroad, and patiently carried many pounds of books I sent home upstairs, for storage in Inta Carpenter's office.

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Paldies devu Dieviņam,  
Tas darbiņš nodzīvots;  
Dieviņ, līdzī rociņām  
Citu darbu padzīvot. (LTDz 6853)

Guntis Šmidchens

A BALTIC MUSIC:

THE FOLKLORE MOVEMENT IN LITHUANIA, LATVIA, AND ESTONIA, 1968-1991.

ABSTRACT:

Folksongs have been a symbol of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian culture for more than two centuries. Herder's Volkslieder was a model which demonstrated that folk poetry made these peoples equal to others in the world, and showed how songs could be used to advance national liberation. These ideas were brought to life in the choral movements and national song festivals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and were maintained after Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were annexed by the Soviet Union. In the late 1960s, a new movement emerged, calling for "authentic" performance of folksongs in small, inclusive groups, in contrast to the spectacular displays of Soviet folklore performed in front of passive audiences. The loud, unrefined singing style of rural traditions challenged the official Soviet models of art. Government efforts to suppress the new folklore ensembles only raised their popularity, and by the early eighties, folklore festivals were attracting many thousands of people. As a broadly based phenomenon which successfully evaded government control, the folklore movement provided a model for mass activism in the Baltic after 1985.

This dissertation presents a history of the Baltic folklore movement up to 1991, when Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania gained independence from the Soviet Union. Participant observation of three leading folklore ensembles —Ratilio (Lithuania), Leegajus (Estonia), and Skandinieki (Latvia)— revealed these groups as communities which are held together in ways

similar to the imagining of a national community. The example of modern Baltic singing traditions complements the discussions about folklorism which emerged in both East and West Europe during the 1960s and 1970s. Folklorism, defined here as the conscious recognition and use of folklore as a symbol of ethnic, regional, or national identity, is itself a tradition which has folklorized and nationalized in the modern Baltic cultures. Baltic folklorism today is a new variant in the long-lived tradition of using folksongs and singing as a means of national self-realization.

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## INTRODUCTION: FOLKLORISM REVISITED

During the past two centuries, the work produced by folklorists has found remarkable resonance in society, providing catalysts for revolutionary political transformations. Folk culture is a favorite material used whenever competing visions of national identity are defined, advertised, and debated, with every ideology creating its own interpretation of traditions and their role in modern life. For the cultural historian, folklore and its applications in politics provide a window through which broad movements may be observed, described, and interpreted. For the folklorist, these processes offer an opportunity to review theories about the nature of folklore. Both cultural history and folklore theory are approached in this dissertation, which explores a recent, stormy battle fought over folklore.

In the Soviet Union, unlimited political power gave government ideologues the authority to proclaim the "correct" definitions to be used in any area of research, including folkloristics; scholars and amateur folklorists who expressed contrary ideas were harrassed, interrogated, expelled from universities, or arrested. Folklore, officially defined in the Soviet context as art expressing the collective will of the working class, was declared to be in a constant state of evolution, reworked and refined through the process called folklorism. Epic songs, for example, were composed anew to extol the lives of Stalin and Lenin; folktales and legends were invented to praise Soviet victories in World War II (Miller 1990). Motifs from traditional dances and music were developed into spectacular displays of acrobatics and ballet, the "folk art" of the "Soviet people."

During the late 1960's in the Baltic republics, a new form of folklorism emerged in opposition to the official folklorism dictated by the government. Urban intellectuals and amateur artists rediscovered the archaic traditions of their native homelands, and began collecting, studying, and finally, reviving folklore which they considered to be more "authentic" than the "pseudofolklore" displayed at official Soviet cultural performances. Emphasis was placed, for example, on playing music, dancing, and singing in small, inclusive groups of people, in contrast to the typical virtuoso performance of Soviet folklore displayed in front of a massive, yet passive audience. Because it was an independent, intellectually liberating social movement, the popular folklore revival found mass support among the youth of East Europe, despite opposition from official government agencies.<sup>1</sup> In the three Baltic republics, the folklore movement also drew upon folklore's powerful national symbolism, resonating with the desire for national independence which could not be expressed in words. It is this new movement of folklore revival, closely intertwined with the Baltic national movements, which is studied in this dissertation.

In the summer of 1990, I travelled to the Baltic States (then still republics of the USSR) to gather information about the recent popular revival of folksongs, considered by many to have provided a model for the Baltic mass movements which erupted in the second half of the eighties. In demonstrations for environmental protection, democratization, and finally, independence, songs and singing were so prominent that the events of 1988 and 1989

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<sup>1</sup> One of the best descriptive documents is a book of photographs and personal memoirs which captures the liberating spirit of this same youth movement as it emerged in Hungary (Bodor 1981). Rihtman-Auguštin writes that the recent folklore revival is most interesting when viewed in the context of Soviet political folklore (1988: 17). In the Baltic, the clash of these two folklorisms was particularly intense.

came to be called the "Singing Revolution."<sup>2</sup> Arriving in the Baltic at the culmination of this Revolution, I attended the Estonian and Latvian National Song Festivals of 1990, and a folklore festival in Latvia. I returned to the Baltic a year later, in June of 1991 (two months before the disintegration of the USSR), and remained there until July of 1992, travelling between Rīga, Vilnius, and Tallinn, observing folklore performances and festivals, recording oral history interviews with movement leaders, mining libraries and archives for published and unpublished documents, and participating in the activities of three leading folklore ensembles. By 1992, the folklore movement was receding, or more precisely, it was transforming from a position of prominence in public life, to a significant, but less dramatic place in the programs of legal social organizations and the government cultural administrations.

My research was primarily historical: I attempted to reconstruct, out of many fragments of information, the origins and development of the folklore movement up to the renewed independence of the Baltic States in 1991. My interpretation of the movement's history, and of the factors which gave folklore such strong mass appeal, emerged from the ethnographic methods acquired in my training as a folklorist. In the early 1990's, many of the group leaders who had been active in the previous two decades were still leading, and their groups were still performing. I was a welcome guest and participant observer at their rehearsals and performances, and I eagerly grasped this opportunity to learn their ways of singing. The experience transformed me, I believe, in ways similar to the past experiences of the ensemble members whom I befriended. I would not venture to say that I acquired an "insider's perspective" of the folklore movement (I have never lived, as they have, under a

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<sup>2</sup> Estonian laulev revolutsioon, Latvian dziesmotā revolūcija, Lithuanian dainuojanti revoliucija.

totalitarian government), but I hope that this experience shaped my historical account to resemble history as experienced and remembered by its subjects.<sup>3</sup>

Broad ideas taken from earlier generations of folklore scholars framed this history of the folklore movement. Schwietering's admonishment to study "not the song, but the singing" (1935), for example, led to a view of the folklore traditions as ongoing processes, not a series of song texts extracted from context. The "Singing Revolution" was not limited to the archaic folksongs revived by the ensembles described here, but rather, it crossed a broad range of Baltic national singing traditions. Von Sydow's attention to the "biology of tradition" illuminated those singing traditions in the light of a simple fact: Traditions would not exist without communities to support them, and most importantly of all, without the gifted, creative individuals who perform folklore (1948). History must account for the individual persons and communities who have shaped it. The brightest guiding light came from Hermann Bausinger, who observed that folk culture not only survives, but thrives in the world of modern technology (1990 [1961]).

Bausinger's expanded view of folk culture makes it possible to view the folklore movement as a kind of folklore tradition. Published debates over the definition of folklore in the Baltic States of the 1960's, 70's, and 80's belonged to a folklore process in which the old wine of folklore texts was continually poured and repoured into new ideological bottles. Songs passed through diverse conduits, from rural singers who remembered and maintained the archaic oral tradition, to folklore fieldworkers, to archivists and editors, to cultural

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<sup>3</sup> My own ethnic background has also affected the results of this study: Latvian was my first spoken and written language, and everyday life with my wife Zinta goes on in Latvian. I did my first ethnographic fieldwork in my native ethnic community in Chicago (Šmidchens 1988). Various Latvian emigré organizations and contacts with relatives in Latvia introduced me to life in the Soviet Union, Latvian literature, and folklore. I first encountered the folklore movement described in this dissertation in the early eighties, through the often-copied cassettes then circulating among my American-Latvian peers.

administrators, political ideologues, artists and performers, and last but not least, the mass media— all of these participated in the dissemination of symbolically charged folksongs. A history of the folksong movement in the Baltic contributes to discussions of folklore processes and folklorism, and to the study of folklore as a part of national cultures.

### The Problem of Folklorism

Folklorism (German Folklorismus, Russian fol'klorizm), an "exciting, stimulating, important, necessary, basic" concept in folklore research, has eluded attempts to delimit a clear, internationally accepted definition (Scharfe 1986: 348). Best known in the West is the German usage:

The use of material or stylistic elements of folklore in a context which is foreign to the original tradition (Bausinger 1984).<sup>4</sup>

In theory, the definition applies to all forms of folklore in all contexts; in practice, Western scholars use it only with reference to the uses of folk literature, folk music, folklife, and material culture in the "culture industry" and in cultural programs related to political activities. Some American scholars have dwelt upon arguments over the "authenticity" of the products of folklorism, giving these "spurious traditions" the negative name of "fakelore" (Dorson 1969, Dundes 1985), or defending them against such evaluations (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988). The functional approach to folklorism which is characteristic of German scholarship concentrates on the use and users of folklore, identifying a human need for folklorism which is filled by the commercial marketers of folklore. These studies have been

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<sup>4</sup> "Verwendung stofflicher oder stilistischer Elemente der Folklore in einem ihnen ursprünglich fremden Zusammenhang." Other popular definitions include "Vermittlung und Vorführung von Volkskultur aus zweiter Hand" (Moser 1962: 180); "Volkskultur außerhalb ihrer ursprünglichen Verankerung, in neuen Funktionen und mit neuen Zwecken vorgeführt" (Bausinger 1969: 5).

less effective in relating folklorism to other folklore processes. Russian folklorists, on the other hand, have long placed folklorism together with folklore in a broad view of cultural development:

Folklore is understood, not as a conservative element of spiritual culture which survives during the progressive development of society, but rather, as a dynamic structure in which relics coexist with innovations. Under the influence of the new conditions of the people's everyday life, accompanied by changes in the worldview of the masses, a complex process of interaction among all elements takes place, with the result that relics assume a new meaning, acquiring pertinence to contemporary life. As a result of this capability of folklore to develop independently, folklore is not a conservative or foreign part of the culture of the class society, but rather, it adapts, and is reworked to aid in the progressive development of this culture.

This historically developing process of adaptation, reproduction, and transformation of folklore in various expressions of culture we call folklorism in the broad sense of the word, in contrast to the narrow definition of Moser and Bausinger (Gusev 1978: 283-284).<sup>5</sup>

Gusev's definition of folklorism as a process related to historical progress emerged from a different scholarly tradition, that of Soviet folkloristics. Marxist ideology and the related belief in the evolution of society and culture guided Soviet research and theoretical debates about folklore. Summarized by Oinas (1984: 160-179), these debates will not be surveyed here. Folklorism as a concept was known in Russia since the 1930's, but before the 1970's, when folklorism studies were stimulated by West German folklorists, Russian and

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<sup>5</sup> "[F]ol'klor predstaet ne kak konservativnyi element dukhovnoi kul'tury, izzhivaemyi po mere progressivnogo razvitiia obshchestva, a kak dinamicheskaiia struktura, v kotoroi nariadu s reliktovyimi elementami sushchestvuiut i novoobrazovaniia. Pod vozdeistviem novykh uslovii zhizni i byta naroda i v sviazi s izmeneniami v mirovozzrenii mass v fol'klore proiskhodit slozhnyi protsess vzaimodeistviia vsekh elementov, v rezul'tate chego sami reliktovyie elementy mogut priobretat' inoi smysl, aktualizirovat'sia. Vsledstvie etoi sposobnosti k samorazvitiuu fol'klor okazyvaetsia ne konservativnoi i chuzherodnoi chast'iu dukhovnoi kul'tury klassogo obshchestva, a adaptiruetsia, tvorcheski pererabatyvaetsia ei u sposobstvuet ee progressivnomu razvitiuu.

Etot istoricheski razvivaiushchiisia protsess adaptatsii, vosproizvodeniiia i transformatsii fol'klora v inykh vidakh kul'tury my nazyvaem fol'klorizmom v shirokom smysle slova v otlichie ot togo spetsificheskogo znacheniiia, kakoe etomu terminu pridali G. Mozer i G. Bauzinger...."



Soviet folklorists favored the terms "folk creativity" (narodnoe tvorchestvo) or "contemporary folklore" (sovremennyi fol'klor) over fol'klorizm.<sup>6</sup>

Bausinger's and Gusev's definitions of folklorism are representative of West German and Soviet scholarship, respectively; scholars west of the Iron Curtain tend to see folklorism in its commercial context, while those to the east look to the folklorism of government-sponsored cultural programs. Differences between the two definitions are significant: Bausinger concentrates on the functions of cultural goods, and assumes that modernity has extracted folklore from its "original" state and placed it into a "foreign" context; Gusev, on the other hand, postulates that the social structure of the world is changing, and identifies folklorism as the process which adapts folklore to the new social context. Both Bausinger and Gusev agree that folklore has changed in some basic way after it leaves "primary traditions" (Bausinger) or "feudal society" (Gusev).

In both Soviet and Western folkloristics, "primary tradition" or "authentic folklore" refer to a folklore process which is thought to have continued over many generations with few intrusions —technological, commercial or otherwise— from outside the traditional community. In secondary tradition or folklorism, the break with premodern folklore traditions is irreversible. Folklorism, writes Zemtsovskii, may resemble folklore in style and content, and it may influence living folklore traditions, but it has itself forever lost the spontaneous (stikhiinoe) nature of authentic folklore (1989: 11-13).

The debates over the authenticity of folklore texts resemble, and often repeat debates over orality as the distinguishing feature of folk narrative. Researchers cling to beliefs in a

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<sup>6</sup> Zemtsovskii writes, "During the well known discussions about contemporary folklore, which develops and revives tradition, and about amateur art, gradually there emerged... the problem of folklorism. It was not immediately called by its name: For a long time, it unwittingly hid behind the old terminology..." (1981: 180).

purely oral folktale or legend tradition, avoiding the fact that these narratives have been circulating between mass-mediated and oral variants for many centuries (Azadovskii 1932, Strobach 1981; cf. Ben-Amos 1992: 101). In the same way, it is assumed that primary or "original" musical, material, and customary traditions have survived for ages in a pristine state before the intrusion of modernity and folklorism. Strobach argues that such conditions never existed, and demonstrates that the identification of "secondary" traditions is flawed: One must then consider "third-hand" and "fourth-hand" traditions, and so on, when one is simply talking about "tradition." Nor does the identification of "original context" and "authenticity" have a solid theoretical foundation: If similar logic were applied to the music of Bach, for example, the absurd conclusion would be that all performances of Bach's music outside the context of religious services are "inauthentic" (1982: 41-43). Dégh argues that the fundamental feature of folklore is not the distance from some imagined primary tradition, or the medium of communication (e.g. oral, written, broadcast): It is the variant —the repeated use of an item of folklore in multiple situations and forms— which is the best indicator that folklore processes are at work, and that humans are fulfilling a traditional need by performing folklore (1994: 32-33).<sup>7</sup> Because the process of folklorism produces new variants, it is a part of the folklore process, and the issue of authenticity is irrelevant. In fact, there is good reason to assert, as Bausinger does, that all folklore today has been affected to some degree by secondary tradition: "folklore today cannot appear but in the mutative form of folklorism" (1990 [1971]: 152). Modern technology speeds up and expands the processes of folklore communication, but does not change the needs of the people using folklore as a part of their lives.

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<sup>7</sup> Strobach writes, "Not the manner and means of communication, but rather, the productive appropriation and incorporation into specific conditions, and into cultural activities and traditions, are the differentiating criteria" of various forms of folklore (1982: 37).

The discussion up to this point appears to lead to the conclusion that the term "folklorism," being synonymous with "folklore," has no use in folklore theory. The processes of transmission, reception, and variation in folklore and folklorism are too similar to warrant separate terminology on this basis. A better definition would be based on the function and meaning of folklore in specific contexts. Bausinger's and Gusev's definitions are conceived broadly, and are intended to apply to all forms of folklore which exist in secondary tradition or are adapted to new social conditions. Their subsequent discussions, however, present examples from only a few genres— those which are performed in situations where folklore is on display as a symbol of tradition, ethnicity, or the nation. Other similar processes of folklore are not discussed: None of the many publications about folklorism mention, for example, the genre of (contemporary) legends, a form of folklore which is constantly transformed to fit modern contexts, and is commercially marketed and consumed through the mass media. Although mass-mediated legends about Satanism in America (Victor 1993), for example, follow processes which match Bausinger's definition of folklorism, the meanings and functions of these legends differ greatly from those of the folk music, art, custom, and costume which are typically discussed in the folklorism discourse.

The definition of folklorism must be refined: It should encompass the definitions of folklorism which have been formulated to date, but exclude examples of secondary tradition such as legends in the mass media, which during the past three decades of theoretical debate have not been thought of as belonging to "folklorism." The most suitable usage of "folklorism" appears in the writings of Mark Azadovskii, who during the 1930's was also the first folklorist to use the term extensively in his writings.<sup>8</sup> Azadovskii was occupied

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<sup>8</sup> Bausinger (1984) and many others assert that it was Hans Moser who brought the term into folklore research in 1962. While Moser's work, discussed below, did lead to discussions of folklorism between folklorists from the East and the West, the conferences soon revealed that Soviet bloc scholars

throughout his career with the relationship between written and oral literature; "folklorism" for him denoted the study and use of oral literature (folklore) by literary authors in their creative work. For Azadovskii, a discussion of folklorism required the placing of authors into their historical epoch, in contrast to the "anti-historical" studies satisfied merely with the identification of folklore sources for motifs found in literature. The folklorisms of the 19th century, for example, had to be studied in the context of national movements emerging throughout Europe at the time.<sup>9</sup>

Azadovskii did not provide a precise definition for the term. Gusev (1978: 284) reports that Azadovskii borrowed it from the writings of the French folklorist Paul Sébillot, who used it with reference to non-scholarly inspiration gained from the folklore of both "primitive" foreigners and native peasant cultures. The word was also common at the turn of the century among French avant-garde authors and artists (Bausinger 1984). Other Russian folklorists of the 1930's distinguished "folkloristics" —the academic study of folklore— from "folklorism" —non-academic publications by journalists, authors, and amateur folklore enthusiasts. Zhirmunskii describes Azadovskii's usage as "a broad social phenomenon," "different interpretations of folk creativity and of the nature of the folk, appearing in different stages of the development of Russian literature and society," "the social controversy surrounding the interpretation and use of folklore in Russian literature and culture" (1958: 14). In the context of Azadovskii's other writings, the term has an even broader meaning.

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came from an earlier tradition of folklorism studies.

<sup>9</sup> Azadovskii introduces a discussion of Pushkin's folklorism with the argument that "Pushkin lived and created in an epoch when the problems of folk poetry were at the forefront of the cultural world, when the science of folklore was born, and when the problem of folk poetry was tightly bound to the problem of national self-representation, and to the nation's path of historical development. The extent to which Pushkin was associated —and whether or not he was associated at all— with this movement: Such a question has not been asked in our scholarship" (1938: 7).

He used "folklorism" alongside such improvised words as "Shakespearism," "historism," and "exotism" (shekspirizm, istorizm, ekzotizm), the conscious study, selection, and use (by an artist) of themes and ideas from Shakespeare's writings, from history, or from some exotic culture of the world (1938: 9, 23, 29). "Folklorism," used in the same way, implies an awareness on the part of authors or folklore performers that they are dealing with the thing called "folklore," a word which did not appear in any native terminology before it was coined in the 19th century, and the knowledge that folklore is related to ethnic, regional or national culture. Folklorism thus refers to a subcategory of folklore, one with specific meaning and function in the lives of the performers and audience. Folklorism is the conscious recognition and repetition of folk tradition as a symbol of ethnic, regional, or national identity.

The ideas upon which folklorism is based emerged in the modern world (Bausinger 1992: 12). There is a human need, heightened in the modern world, for the knowledge of history (Strobach 1982: 36), which is tied to a nostalgic feeling of historical continuity with past generations (Frykman and Löfgren 1987: 33-35). There also exists a nostalgic need to imagine a simpler "counterworld" to the hectic, chaotic life of the modern world (Bausinger 1990 [1971]: 145).<sup>10</sup> Folklorism fills that need, when folklore is self-consciously represented ("objectified" — Handler 1988: 13) and accepted as a carrier of the past and the premodern world, one which brings an impression of unchanging, stable tradition into the present.

Debates over folklorism are, in fact, debates over historical continuity and the imagined counterworld. Scholars and folk alike participate in these debates, arguing about the

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<sup>10</sup> Additional functions of folklorism, held in common with other forms of folklore, include "The joy found in a shared form, in the play of form and color, in the individual performance skill, the wish to attempt artistic expression, the need for social relations and common cultural experiences, the fun of sociability and joy of communality" (Strobach 1982: 37).

nature of the world around them. Authenticity and folklorism, then, are of interest, not as the object of research, but rather, as a recurrent (traditional) theme in the rhetoric of culture builders, a word defined differently by people in different situations.<sup>11</sup> The study of folklorism in its natural context—in debates over the nature of folk culture in the modern world—is a goal of this dissertation.

### The Folklorism Debate

As in legend traditions, the texts of the folklorism debate reveal more about their narrators than about the phenomenon to be debated. The "historical truth" (Alver 1989) of the distinction between folklore and folklorism may be found, not in the facts presented, but in the evaluative commentary which frames these facts, placing them in the context of the lives of the persons participating in the debate. It is significant that the published descriptions and analyses of folklorism without fail introduce arguments about its positive and negative applications (Strobach 1982: 34-35; Zemtsovskii 1981: 179). The folklorism debate has continually been revived because of the need felt by scholars to reassert these evaluative opinions.

In the West, the images of authentic folklore marketed by the culture industry resonate in the desires (and spending) of the general public, to the dismay of many folklorists. In West Germany during the 1960's, a belief that humans have changed since the coming of modernity, a belief in the positive benefits of scientific progress, a rejection of the emotionally-charged political manipulation of folklore in Nazi Germany, and most

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<sup>11</sup> Bendix advances a similar argument regarding authenticity, namely, that authenticity cannot be defined and identified, but that the definitions used by previous generations of scholars reveal the concepts which formed the basis of their theories (1992).

importantly, a belief in the existence at some bygone point in time of pure and beautiful folk culture, led to a negative attitude toward such sentimentalized use of folklore for commercial purposes. Although Moser had noted that the concept of folklorism can be understood in a neutral sense, he acknowledged that its use typically indicates folklorists' dislike for "falsification" of tradition (1964:10). Such evaluations of folklorism were soon criticized by Hermann Bausinger, a believer in the stability of human nature regardless of technological developments. Bausinger pointed out that a purist attitude excluding folklorism from academic study was in itself a kind of folklorism, one which avoided accurate description of the real world by selectively documenting and praising only a small portion of folk culture (1986 [1966]). Bausinger maintained a neutral tone in his arguments,<sup>12</sup> but the Polish ethnographer J. Burszta joined the discussion with a positive evaluation of government-sponsored folklorism in East Europe as a progressive force of social and cultural development (1969: 14-15). Other East Europeans pointed out that folklorism could also have negative functions in their societies, when it was a means of regression to earlier stages of social development (Dömötör 1969: 21, Antonijević 1969: 29, 36-38).

A gap between East and West regarding folklorism had already been noted by Moser in 1962. What was in West Europe the result of commercial processes, in the East was accomplished by political and cultural programs. Scholars hesitated to unmask the political propaganda of the "Soviet folklore" —especially music, dance, and costume— which displayed the USSR and East Europe as a happy, contented family of nations, proud of their political order and mass culture. Mentioned in the discussions of Western scholars, not mentioned in the East, and not described in detail on either side of the Iron Curtain was the

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<sup>12</sup> Bausinger has more recently argued that the term, "folklorism," should not be used at all in scholarly writing, because it has acquired unavoidable connotations of negative evaluation (1984).

complete subjugation of culture to government planning and censorship. During the 1970's, the study of folklorism in the East was limited to the study of the products of official cultural programs, but not of the power structures and processes which produced these forms of folklore.<sup>13</sup> The views expressed within the Soviet bloc are summarized by V. E. Gusev:

The place and meaning of folklore in the contemporary culture of the Slavic peoples may be defined, not by historical reminiscences or analogies to folklorism in modern bourgeois [i.e. Western] society, but rather, by analysis of all conditions and forms in which folk creativity is adapted in the culture of Socialist nations (1978: 286).

Analyses led to descriptive typologies of modern-day folklorism in the Soviet Union and East Europe in the works of numerous folklorists. Bausinger had criticized anti-folklorism biases among West German folklorists as undemocratic; Soviet scholars also tied folklorism to progressive, democratic social thought, and celebrated the positive role played by their own country:

Negative reasons [like the ones seen in Western commercial exploitation] do not lie at the foundation of folklorism in Socialist society. Rather, folklorism follows an objective law of social progress, that of the democratization of all culture, and of society's recognition of the immeasurable value of folklore (Gusev 1978: 286-287).

All Russian scholarly publications of the Soviet period must be examined in their social and political context, that of a totalitarian state. Discussions of folklorism in the Stalinist era were overshadowed by official government policies. The distinction between oral and written literature, for example, was erased and the "collective" nature of folklore was stressed, as a part of the rhetoric which justified the silencing of individual artists and authors

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<sup>13</sup> East Europeans (e.g., Strobach 1982: 23, Rihtman-Augustin 1988: 17) acknowledged only in passing the dominance of Soviet cultural models. These are apparent in the post-World War II period, in the nearly identical structures of cultural administration which were established throughout East Europe ("folk art centers"), in officially sponsored forms of folklore ("state folklore ensembles" like Moiseev's ensemble in Moscow), and even in academic theories based on quotes from Stalin and Lenin.



(Oinas 1984: 157-175). Decades later, the typologies of folklorism constructed by Soviet folklorists (interpreted as lists of officially sanctioned forms of folk art) were used by the Baltic ministries of culture as instruments of exclusion. Because performances by urban folklore revival ensembles were not mentioned in the list of progressive forms of folklorism, and also did not fit the requirements of "authentic" folklore, they could be labelled inferior or regressive art, and banned from officially sponsored cultural programs.

Soviet scholars were definitely not all obedient mouthpieces of government ideologues. Many positive and useful ideas regarding culture and folklore processes were formulated during the Soviet period, regardless of the government agencies which cynically included this research in Soviet propaganda campaigns.<sup>14</sup> The repeated assertions of Soviet and East European folklorists that there is no single "correct" form of folklorism (Gusev 1977: 13, Strobach 1982: 51) may well have contributed to the gradual relaxation of government restrictions on the urban folklore ensembles.<sup>15</sup>

### Folklore, Nationalism, and National Culture

During the 19th century, folklore research flourished in Europe. Volkskunde —the knowledge or study of the nation— occupied intellectuals and activists in pursuit of native histories and national cultures. Their source of inspiration was folklore. As they scoured centuries-old chronicles and oral traditions, allowing their imagination to fill the many gaps of

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<sup>14</sup> As pointed out by Izalii Zemtsovskii at a meeting of ethnomusicologists which I attended in St Petersburg in November of 1991.

<sup>15</sup> Zemtsovskii later used even stronger language in defense of the urban ensembles, writing that they represent "serious folklorism" in contrast to the "chaotic" folklorism which was ubiquitous in Soviet life (1989: 7).

information, these first folklorists constructed complex pictures of an ancient heritage. In folklore, they looked for and found traces of the historical epochs which every nation required: the origins of the national community, ancient national heroes, and the "golden age" during which the national community flourished. The colorful, intricate stories of national history became modern-day myths, sacred narratives used as models to be followed in contemporary times (Honko 1987). Revived memories of glorious cultural achievements in the golden age preceded accounts of the nation's decline, and of the imminent rebirth ("awakening") of the nation. Actions of heroes, epitomizing the values of the nation, demonstrated how this regeneration would come about (Smith 1986: 192-200). In the work of the nation-builders, folklore served two functions: It provided both historical information and models for future actions. Folklore itself became a symbol of national wealth, a treasurehouse of history and culture. These were the reasons why scholars entered the field, collecting, studying, and publishing the traditions they found there.

In more recent years, the work of the early folklorists and nation-builders has been subjected to critical scrutiny. Discrepancies are found between actual historical or ethnographic facts and the accounts written by patriotic scholars. Labelled "ideological manipulation" of folklore (Dorson 1972: 15), the work done during this era is often dismissed as falsification, a product of "nationalistic inferiority complexes" (Dundes 1985). Scholars of other disciplines have reached similar conclusions. "Invented traditions" have been unmasked in the kilts of Highland Scots enthusiasts (Trevor-Roper 1983) and the court rituals of the British monarchy (Cannadine 1983). Processes of intervention, revision, and invention of traditions have been described in the history of American Appalachian culture (Whisnant 1983) and Quebecois culture in Canada (Handler 1988). To a greater or lesser extent, these studies complement a belief prevalent in the scholarship on nationalism during the past few

decades, that not only national traditions, but the nation itself is a recent invention of modern people:

Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: that is a reality, for better or for worse, and in general an inescapable one (emphasis in original; Gellner 1983: 48-49, also quoted in Hobsbawm 1991: 10).

The rush to expose the false traditions and false claims of nationalists has accompanied a realization that nations do, in fact, exist in the modern world, regardless of the fact that nationalist rhetoric is not always true. The advance of modern industry, for example, produced a large, mobile society speaking a common, standardized language and aware of its cultural unity (Gellner 1983). The growth of a middle class likewise led to an economically and ideologically uniform portion of every country's population, which could be mobilized by governments seeking to solidify their ruling power (Hobsbawm 1991). Print capitalism brought about broad, literate populations which were aware of their common culture and identity. The nation as an "imagined community," described by Anderson, is not a false construct, but rather, a group of people like any other group, whose members creatively interpret and acknowledge their common ties with other persons in the community (Anderson 1991: 6). Invented traditions should not be dismissed or ignored as inauthentic or false, warns Hobsbawm, because some of them find strong resonance in the general population; these traditions, which people accept as their own, are tied to real political change, meeting "a felt —not necessarily clearly understood— need among particular bodies of people" (Hobsbawm 1983b: 307).

National aspirations were a dominant force in Europe during the nineteenth century. Liberal intellectuals, the disenfranchised middle classes, and even autocrats and monarchs seeking to hold on to their power, sought and propagated symbols which would represent

their nations among the other nations of the world, and would validate the existence of independent cultures or unified states ruled by popular consensus. Each specific case of nation-building, while rich with innovations, participated in transnational traditions by conforming to accepted models of the ideal nation. Nation-builders —patriots, poets, agitators (Hroch 1985), "actors" or "creators and carriers of ideas" (Greenfeld 1992: 19)— followed an international "checklist" of items to be defined and acquired to validate the existence of a nation: standardized language, a common folk culture, a history and a destiny, myths and heroes (and villains), a flag, an anthem, and sacred texts (e.g. epics) and images (of landscapes, national icons, etc.). National character, values, and tastes also had to be determined (Löfgren 1989). Outsiders, foreigners, and enemy nations were identified, and expressions of resentment toward these nations added a more sinister item to the list (Johanneson 1989, Greenfeld 1992: 17). All of these items on the "list" —invented or not— defined to the members or prospective members of a nation their own identity: who that nation was in relation to other nations, and what culture must be accepted by persons who wish to belong to the nation.

The study of nation-building in folklore research has typically focused on the history of nationalists and their work. It has recently been recognized that different groups of nation-builders (nationalists, defenders of empires, socialists) created conflicting images of national culture, based on different selections and interpretations of the same folk cultures. Different versions of the nation come to the fore as different groups advance to political power (Niedermüller 1989, Sinkó 1989, Hofer 1991). Less attention has been given to the receiving end of nation-building processes. Before the advent of national ideology and national movements, people did not identify with nations and national cultures as we know them (Hobsbawm 1991: 46-79). During the past century, however, national identification has been

widespread, and the national traditions created by earlier generations have been accepted by large populations— modern-day nations.

New forms of mass communication have led to the nationalization of culture, the actual sharing of culture on the national level (Löfgren 1989). Pseudomythology invented in the 19th century has been accepted as real by average Estonians (Viires 1991); Hungarians have accepted the goulash propagated by cultural activists as an edible national symbol (Kisbán 1989). Poles have accepted Kościuszko, Pilsudski, Father Popieluszko, and other historical persons as national heroes of mythological stature (Sokolewicz 1991). The archaic relics found in the traditional cultures of certain regions such as Dalarna in Sweden, or ethnic groups such as the Székely in Hungary, have been identified by scholars as unique representations of national value, and have been accepted by the public as the most valuable forms of national folk culture (Rosander 1988, Dégh 1989: 291-295).

The study of national cultures has now been expanded to include, not only the culture created by nation-builders, but also the "national-culture building of everyday life" (Löfgren 1989: 5), which appears, for example, in sports traditions (Ehn 1989), or in social hierarchies as determinants of the accepted stereotypical national character of Swedes (Frykman 1989). National culture has been discovered where it was not noticed earlier, and the emergence of national identity is credited, not only to the rhetoric and inventions of nationalists, but also to national traditions that hold less apparent political significance. Anderson (1991: 163-185) has shown how national identity is formed, for example, by censuses (requirements that individuals choose categories of identification where none exist), maps (images of a unified geographical territory implying that inhabitants belong to a single nation instead of multiple ethnic groups), and museums (visual representations of a single, unified history in place of fragmented events from the past).

Individuals seek out others to affirm the bonds which they feel with the national community. National traditions are created, accepted and maintained by the individual members of living nations, who do so with the expressed purpose of maintaining their national identity. Düding has noted the importance of mass transportation networks, which enabled crowds of many thousands to assemble at national festivals of German gymnasts, singers, and marksmen (1987, 1988). Here, they could experience what Anderson calls "unisonance," an experienced ritual communion which solidifies the identification of individuals with the nation (Anderson 1991: 133). As they take part in these national traditions, individuals experience moments of revelation in which they accept the rhetoric of nationalism as their own, deeply felt personal conviction (Balle-Petersen 1988).

### The Nationalization of Folklorism

Nineteenth-century Europe resounded with calls to enrich national cultures with materials acquired from folklore. Populist ideas sent poets into the countryside, where they listened to the songs of the folk, and wrote or compiled works displaying the style and content of their native folk poetry; musicians composed melodies for folksong texts, or arranged the traditional tunes; philosophers constructed national mythologies which served as alternatives to Christian theology. Working within their native national cultures, they nevertheless followed international models. The work of the early folklore enthusiasts was guided, first of all, by artistic intuition. Folklore provided inspiring, original examples of art to be emulated; the artists worried little, however, about the problems of accurate transcription and critical source analysis. At first, folklorism in the nineteenth century (like the nationalism which guided it) was practiced only in small, elite, highly educated circles of society; a period of assertive

agitation for the national cause brought their ideas to the broader population (Hroch 1986). Artistic applications of folklore diffused to the general population through publications, schools, and cultural societies. Choirs learned to perform the harmonized song texts, and schoolchildren read folktales and legends published in textbooks. The processes of folklorism were known to all persons who came into contact with the literate world of national culture. Out of the ranks of amateur folklorists and folklore enthusiasts emerged the subsequent generations of persons who continued the national tradition of folklorism, collecting, studying, publishing, and popularizing the variants of folklore texts which best matched their ideal vision of national folk culture.

As increasingly thorough methods of collecting and studying folklore were developed, scholars recognized the need for large collections of folklore texts. They addressed the general public with calls to join in their efforts. Herder wrote to friends and acquaintances, asking them to send him folksongs and translations; Jacob Grimm distributed a circular in 1815, hoping to organize a network of correspondents which would extend throughout the German-speaking lands. Jakob Hurt and Fricis Brīvzemnieks are remembered for their published appeals to the Estonians and Latvians, which resulted in widespread efforts to collect folksongs and ethnographic materials. Throughout Europe, societies were organized to stimulate national interest and research in folklore. Ethnographic questionnaires were distributed, sometimes with official requirements that they be filled out, through the national networks of clergymen and teachers, who in turn passed the tradition of studying folklore on to persons in the local populations. The collection and study of folklore became a national mission, to be pursued by members of societies coordinating their efforts on a national level. Folklore research is thus one of the traditions created by the nation-builders of the 19th century. As a result of this national activism, not only folklore texts, but also folklore

theories and methods were quickly disseminated among the folk, to become part of folklore traditions. Usually ignored or concealed by folklorists as "contaminations" of folk tradition, folklorized folkloristics was first approached during the self-reflexive German debates over folklorism. Rücklauf, the return of scholarly or pseudoscholarly ideas to the folk, was noted by Moser as a process worthy of study (1964: 10); Bausinger identified Rücklauf with the applied folklore of yesterday, or simply— folklorism (1990 [1971]: 114).

National traditions of folklorism have been studied, for the most part, only from the perspective of the elite sectors of society: The professional scholars, government agents, or businessmen who use folklore in the invention of traditions. Attention has also been paid to folklorism among persons not in positions of political or intellectual power, revealing, for example, that the folk also manipulate traditions for economic gain (Jeggle and Korff 1986[1974]), to maintain ethnic identity (Dégh 1977), or to bring an imagined historical continuity into a "museumized" present (Assion 1986). This dissertation presents an example not described in detail in the folklorism literature, that of a nationalized tradition of folklorism. The ideas guiding the work of nineteenth century folklorists have spread to a broad portion of today's Baltic society, where people use folksongs to define and strengthen their national culture and national identity.

I have argued above that the term folklorism denotes a specific category of folklore defined by function and meaning. This dissertation asserts that folklore and folklorism are identical in all other respects. Earlier arguments to this end, most notably Strobach (1982), have been based on proofs that the so-called "secondary tradition" has always been present in primary folklore processes. Fieldwork and participant observation of folklorism in the Baltic has revealed to me that, regardless of the medium of communication, and regardless of the political or economic interests which may frame either primary or secondary traditions, the



two —folklore and folklorism— are similar even in aspects once thought to be the specific domain of "primary" tradition. Bausinger's call for the study of the practitioners of folklorism (1969: 6)<sup>16</sup> led me, not to a faceless mass of consumers, or to a clique of businessmen or political ideologues plotting the manipulation and marketing of culture, but rather, to charismatic, creative artists performing and thriving in small, face-to face communities. Both folklore and folklorism depend for their existence on these gifted individuals capable of performing and passing their gifts on to others. They provide a key to understanding, not only national traditions of folklorism, but also the mass national movement of the modern world.

In Chapter One, I survey various kinds of folksongs which I encountered in the Baltic during my fieldwork from 1990 to 1992; I distinguish two different ways in which folksongs are sung when culture is put on display: in choral arrangements, and in the performances of folklore ensembles. In Chapter Two, I review the history of folksongs as a part of the Baltic national cultures, and in particular as a part of the choral repertoire. In Chapter Three, I present the history of the Baltic folklore movement, which brought into the modern Baltic cultures a new, "authentic" style of performing folksongs. In Chapters Four and Five, I present case studies of three folklore ensembles and their leaders. I conclude that the singing of the folklore ensembles, like the archaic singing traditions they attempt to revive, is a direct continuation of these original traditions, and not, as some scholars of folklorism would maintain, "secondary traditions" that bring folklore out of its "original context."

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<sup>16</sup> "Who are the carriers of the folkloristic phenomena in specific cases? The forms of state control and other official or political influences should be considered along with the "folkloristic" work of associations and organizations devoted to the cultivation of heritage (Heimatspflege). In this context, it is interesting to examine the problem of individual 'initiating persons' to whom specific phenomena of folklorism may be traced" (emphasis in original).

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE BALTIC SONG, 1990-1992

Johann Gottfried Herder formulated his goals in the study and publication of folksongs in an essay written in 1777:

Anthropology has greatly expanded the map of humanity: We now know so many more nations than just the Greeks and Romans! But how well do we know them? From outside... or from inside? Through their own soul? From sensation, talk, and action? This is how it should be, and it rarely occurs. The pragmatic writer of history or travel accounts describes, paints, portrays; he always portrays what he sees, it comes from his mind, one-sided, civilized; he thus lies, even if he wishes to lie as little as possible.

The sole measure that can be taken against this is easy and obvious.... A small collection of... songs, taken from the lips of each nation, describing their work and the conditions of their life, in their own language, at the same time thoroughly understood and explained, accompanied by music: ... From this we would gain a much better perception than from the idle chatter of travellers' accounts [1967-1968, Vol. IX: 532-533].

Herder's two volumes of Volkslieder, published in 1778 and 1779, opened the subjective world of many peoples to his readers. This chapter attempts to do the same, regarding songs and singing as I encountered them in the Baltic from 1990 to 1992.

Herder's "pragmatic writers of history" abound in recent writing about the Baltic: Descriptions of the Baltic "Singing Revolution" are reduced to numbers of people present at mass demonstrations; the importance of song festivals is noted in passing as authors turn to discussions of the political scene (e.g., Clemens 1991: 110-112; Thompson 1992: 251-258).<sup>1</sup> Why has that time entered today's popular memory as the "singing" revolution, and not, for example, "national" or "nonviolent" — words which describe the revolutionary events of that

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<sup>1</sup> The journalist Anatol von Lieven is one of the few who attempt to address the importance of folklore in the Baltic, but he abandons a serious discussion and concludes with a snicker about the leading Latvian artists, who "symbolically castrate their national hero," Lāčplēsis (1993: 109-123).

time very well? What were the songs which moved the Baltic populations, and why? Later chapters will survey the history of songs and singing as Baltic national symbols; here, I hope to introduce the modern-day singing traditions of the three Baltic cultures. I describe and interpret a few Baltic songs as they are sung and understood by the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. (Translations of the songs discussed here appear in Appendix I). It is not likely that the songs in this chapter are as "thoroughly understood and explained" as Herder might have wished, but the translated texts do attempt to approach the three nations "from inside," "through their own soul." Singing is at the heart of the three national cultures.

Herder did not clearly distinguish among "songs," "folksongs," "national songs," and "songs of the folk," or between "elite poetry" and "folk poetry" (Strobach 1978). His broad view of songs is useful as a point of entry into today's Baltic cultures, where the national symbolism of folksongs and singing extends into many different artistic expressions. This chapter begins with the most visible singing occasion in all three cultures— the National Song Festival, and continues with a public event of much smaller scale— the folklore festival. Both of these festivals place culture on display in the form of songs and singing. Finally, this chapter introduces a third kind of tradition, which has been the source of folksongs performed at the singing festivals. Archaic oral singing traditions were widespread in the Baltic as recently as the middle of the twentieth century, but today they survive mostly in the memories of elderly persons living in isolated rural areas. It is likely that the once vibrant traditions of folk poetry described by these people are like the ones which Herder encountered in the Baltic more than two centuries ago.

## The National Song Festivals of 1990

I arrived in Tallinn, Estonia, on June 26, 1990. The city streets were lined with decorative banners featuring a photograph of the arching Song Festival stage, advertising, in English, "Tallinn this week: Song festival." The Estonian National Song Festival is surely a major tourist attraction in this new era of open borders. Western spectators are amazed to behold a choir of twenty or thirty thousand singers performing songs in complex harmonies. Facing the choir is an audience three or four times its size, closely seated upon the sloping hillside. The conductor stands on a small stage several meters above the ground, difficult to discern from the farthest points on the choir stage, and invisible to the spectators sitting in the last rows. As if by miracle, the choir sings in perfect harmony, with the notes reflecting off the enormous acoustic stage shell behind the singers and travelling to the farthest corners of the festival grounds. Some say that the two day-long concerts were attended by half of the entire Estonian nation (Mikk 1990). The size of the audience at a single concert is much smaller than half the nation,<sup>2</sup> but it is definitely close to the truth to say that nearly all Estonians in the world celebrate their nationhood as performers or audiences of choral song. This festival, held at the same time as the national dance festival, is the single most important event in their national culture.

Next I travelled to the Latvian National Song Festival in Rīga. Here, too, tens of thousands of singers from hundreds of choirs converged on the stage, a structure which

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<sup>2</sup> My own photographs, and careful head counts in published aerial pictures indicate that there are less than one hundred thousand persons on the full song festival grounds. See, for example, the two-page photograph in Mesikäpp 1985 (no page number given; towards the middle of the book): Each of the thirty closely seated sectors has twelve rows of thirty persons; the entire seating area is about three times larger than the area of these sectors. Thus there are about 32,400 persons on the filled song festival grounds, perhaps twice that number for an exceptionally large, dense crowd.

retains some of the grandiose architectural style of the early fifties.<sup>3</sup> In the front sections of the numbered seats sat persons who could afford to pay (in western currency) the relatively high prices for these tickets, among them a number of amateur videofilm makers who stood up periodically for panoramic shots of the choir and audience— tourism had discovered the Latvian song festival, too.<sup>4</sup> The formality of the Latvian concerts contrasted with those I had attended a week earlier. In Estonia, during long breaks while choirs were moving on and off the stage, the audience paused for snacks and walked around; in Latvia, the performance was planned so as to have no intermissions, and ushers quickly guided ticket holders to the seats where they remained throughout the three- to four-hour concerts. The Latvian program was the most elaborately choreographed of the three Baltic festivals, with three concert programs (two of them repeated twice) organized around the themes of song festival history ("The Song of Fate" — Liktendziesma), folksongs (Tautas dziesma), and national destiny ("The Song of Life" — Dzīvības dziesma). As in Estonia, many other events surrounded the great meeting and merger of choirs: The National Dance Festival was also being held in Rīga, and many smaller concerts featured well-known choirs and musical ensembles, the symphonic orchestra, and folklore revival groups; special exhibits had been organized at the museums of art and history.

To learn about the Lithuanian national song festival which took place in Vilnius concurrently with the Latvian festival in Rīga, I relied on visits to the festival grounds a year

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<sup>3</sup> Constructed in 1955, the Latvian stage is the oldest of the three Baltic song festival stages. When it was being designed in the early fifties, it was intended to hold the largest, most spectacular Latvian choir ever. With room for only 7,000 singers, 200 dancers, and an audience of 30,000, it turned out to be too small already for the song festival of 1955. In 1990, the stage was expanded to allow around 20,000 singers to participate (Dripe 1990).

<sup>4</sup> The emigrés were envied for the money which bought such prestigious tickets, while leading Latvian poets and cultural leaders sat in rows set further back. The Latvian emigrés were praised, however, for providing the subsidy which made the song festival a financial success.

later, and on newspaper reports, videotapes (generously played for me at the Lithuanian TV Studios), and the published double-record live recording of the concert. The spirit of the festival, I discovered, was not dampened by a heavy downpour of rain, and all seats at the festival grounds were full for the final concert. More than in the other two festivals that I had attended, international politics set the context for this event: The economic blockade of Lithuania, imposed by the government of the Soviet Union after the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declared the republic's independence on March 11, had been lifted only days before the festival began. The USSR had closed the republic's borders to tourists. Only a few Lithuanian ensembles from the West succeeded in getting to the festival, and the emotional "homecoming" of emigrés—a significant element at the Estonian and Latvian festivals of 1990—would have to wait until the Lithuanian song festival of 1994. A shortage of supplies and gasoline had reduced the planned program to a brief three days, only one of which featured the great song festival choir (the opening day saw performances of folklore ensembles in the Vilnius Old Town, and the second day was devoted to folk dance).

To an outsider, the three song festivals must appear very similar. Because the Lithuanian stage is in the same arched form as the Estonian stage, even the visual images of the Estonian and Lithuanian song festivals are nearly identical. From a distance, the stages present a colorful mosaic of folk clothes from different ethnographic regions, national clothing designed in recent times, and formal suits and dresses. The enormous audiences enthusiastically applaud, demanding encores, calling their favorite conductors, composers, and poets out for second bows. Sometimes the audience joins the choir, singing in four-part harmony, and they stand facing each other, hand in hand, singing. Then, suddenly, the crowd falls into attentive silence as the next song begins. Concerts last for many hours. Although each concert has its unique national characteristics, many similarities are apparent to

Baltic natives, too. A commonly experienced history fills the three festivals with symbolic meanings that are shared across the Baltic linguistic borders.

Only a year or two earlier, the Baltic song festivals played a prominent role in Soviet cultural propaganda. The "Pribaltika" region was portrayed as the "land of songs" in mass media broadcasts and publications aimed at audiences both inside and outside the Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup> Generous funds were allotted to the massive preparations for these festivals once every five years (and for many smaller festivals in the interim), from the training and salaries of choir conductors and administrators to travel expenses, room and board, and vacation pay for the tens of thousands of performers. The Baltic national song festivals displayed the ideal image of the Soviet Union, its culture national in form, socialist in content: Enthusiastic, massive choirs of Estonians, Latvians, or Lithuanians singing songs of the many brotherly Soviet nations, songs about Lenin and the Communist Party, and the songs of the working classes— folksongs. At the 1990 festival, I met friendly Estonians who had sung in the great choir for many years, and could explain to me the paradox of Estonian mass participation in what might seem for me, and outsider, to be a Soviet propaganda event:

The song festival always began with ten anthems: The Anthem of the Soviet Union, and all kinds of Lenin songs. A song about Lenin, a song about Stalin, about the Party, and songs of the peoples of the Soviet Union. They had to be included. They allowed only a couple of Estonian songs, after all of that other stuff. But the people all waited for those couple of songs. They were willing to sing all of the Stalins and Lenins, they had to, just to sing those couple of songs, especially "My Fatherland is My Love." And when they sang this song, then everyone stood up, and sang along, and this song has always been sung.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For Soviet-era portrayals of the Baltic "Land of Songs," see the numerous picture-album books published since the mid-sixties, for example, Ezeriņš 1977, Jakelaitis 1985, and Mesikäpp 1985.

<sup>6</sup> Tape recorded conversation with Leidi Veskis, Astrid Vartina, and Jutta Ruud, during the concert on July 1. All three spoke, trading off at times in midsentence, and I later could not discern which words were spoken by which person. I have combined here the three voices into one paragraph.

The early months of 1990 had seen the final breakdown of Soviet censorship. The first open elections in more than half a century had brought into the three Baltic parliaments persons who, for the first time in Soviet history, truly represented the people of these republics and promptly began working towards independence from the Soviet Union. As the governments maneuvered carefully in the arena of politics and economics, the organizers of the song festivals enacted cultural independence, dropping the formerly required Soviet repertoire from the programs. An Estonian newspaper captured the spirit of the times when it quoted, on its first page, from the speech read by Estonian Prime Minister Konstantin Päts six decades earlier, at the opening of the Estonian National Song Festival of 1928:

The goal of national and political expression at the Estonian song festival has changed in the free Estonia. We no longer need to write and read between the lines, or to speak in half words [Päts 1990(1928)].

In 1990, national history was publicly reclaimed, in words as well as in songs: The three festivals opened with the national anthems of the prewar republics, songs which had been banned and were not known by a large part of the population only a short while earlier, but which now claimed a continuity with the independence that had existed half a century ago. References to the prewar period as a model for future independence were common in speeches and publications. A subtle change in the festival emblems transformed the history of the festivals as it had been established during the Soviet era: Only five years earlier, the festivals were usually assigned numbers as anniversaries of events in Soviet history. For example, the number "40" (or "XXXX") was prominent in 1980, commemorating the proclamation of the Soviet Baltic republics forty years earlier. In 1990, the earlier heritage of

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The story exaggerates the details (none of the festival programs from the Soviet period list ten anthems at the opening of the festival, for example, and more than a "couple" of Estonian songs were allowed), to better explain to me, an outsider, the dramatic effect of the audience standing and singing the unofficial anthem.



the song festivals was reclaimed. The twenty first (XXI) Estonian song festival recalled all festivals since 1869; numeration of the twentieth (XX) Latvian and thirteenth (XIII) Lithuanian festivals also reflected their prewar histories.<sup>7</sup>

The song festivals of 1990 were "cultural performances" (Singer 1972), events in which the cultures were placed on display in concentrated form, for viewing and reviewing by both foreigners and the members of the cultures alike. Unlike the festivals of the Soviet era, whose programs were dictated and censored by government ideologues, the festivals of 1990 were intended to be— and did, in fact, become— reflections of the true popular attitudes, emotions, and identities of the three nations, presentations of a Herderian "voice of the Baltic nations in songs." Unpopular texts were removed, and the most meaningful ones selected and ordered, by respected, trusted artists and cultural leaders. Massive attendance, long and loud applause, and the contagious enthusiasm of the singers and audiences showed me that these were the songs which resonated most with the contemporary Baltic public, the texts which should be interpreted for an understanding of popular sentiment in the final years before the collapse of the USSR.

Prominent in the performances were several songs which had become very popular during the Soviet period. The Estonian poem mentioned above, "My Fatherland is My Love" (Mu isamaa on minu arm) was originally written by a nineteenth-century founder of the

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<sup>7</sup> An extreme case of forced Soviet symbolism of the former times appeared in the emblem of the Latvian festival of 1977, held outside of the regular five-year schedule in honor of the sixty-year anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution ("1917-1977"). The heritage of pre-Soviet festivals could not be erased entirely, however, and centennials of the Estonian (1869-1969) and Latvian (1873-1973) festivals commemorated their nineteenth-century roots. It is said that the former celebration was approved only under the condition that it also be proclaimed a celebration of Lenin's birth in 1870; the latter festival emblem also contrived a commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the treaty founding the USSR in 1923. (See also Clemens 1991: 112).

Estonian literary tradition.<sup>8</sup> After World War II, the composer and conductor Gustav Ernesaks created a new musical arrangement (the poem had originally been set to music for a men's choir), and placed the song into the program of the first post-war song festival of 1947. Despite the purges which took place soon afterwards in the organizing committee, the song stayed in the festival repertoire, acquiring the tacit meaning of an "unofficial national anthem,"<sup>9</sup> when audiences stood while it was performed at festivals, applauded en masse, and called for encore after encore.<sup>10</sup> Another poem of the National Awakening, "Dawn" (Koit), which was set to music and first performed at the centennial in 1969, evoked images of the "Dawn glimmering at the mountain tops," a symbol of hope in the dark ages of Soviet rule. In 1990, the song was quoted and sung in anticipation of the true dawn of a new political era in Estonia.<sup>11</sup>

Unofficial anthems such as "Dear Lithuania" (Lietuva brangi) had also emerged in postwar Lithuania, and these were performed in 1990 to a receptive audience. It is easy to see why the Estonian and Lithuanian songs became national symbols: They carried a patriotic meaning already before the Soviet occupation, and were among the few such songs which were somehow kept in the festival repertoire. They could pass the censors because their references to love and defense of the fatherland could be officially reinterpreted as expressions of Soviet patriotism. For the general public, strong words such as isamaa and tėvynė

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<sup>8</sup> See Appendix I for notes on this and other songs mentioned in this chapter.

<sup>9</sup> The first two words of the song, "Mu isamaa" ("My fatherland"), are also the first two words of the national anthem. (For brief references to the unofficial anthems of the Soviet era, see Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: 177-178, and Raun 1991: 218).

<sup>10</sup> Gustav Ernesaks (1908-1992) became a national hero, revered at the song festivals, honored as the patriarch of the Estonian nation. At the festival of 1990, he was seated in the horse-drawn carriage which led the song festival procession through the streets of Tallinn.

<sup>11</sup> For example, Indrek Toome, Chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, quoted the song in his greeting to the festival audience and participants, published on page one of the festival program.

(fatherland), or Lietuva (Lithuania without the appended "SSR"), charged the songs with an aura of forbidden ideas, memories of history not contaminated by Soviet propaganda, texts powerful enough to evoke the meaning of political opposition which was affirmed by loud, anonymous applause from the audience.

In Latvia, no songs with explicit (non-Soviet) patriotic texts survived under the Stalinist cultural administration: The word Latvija (Latvia) appeared in public usage almost exclusively in the compound Latvijas PSR (Latvian SSR); tēvija (fatherland) and dzimtene (homeland) were words which appeared, if at all, then with reference to the Soviet Fatherland and Soviet Homeland. Other songs emerged, however, as carriers of popular national symbolism. One such anthem, often not included in the official program, but nevertheless sung as an encore (even without a conductor, as was done after the opening concert in 1990), was a folksong about a young man sailing to Kurzeme (a region of Latvia) to marry, boasting that he owns his own horse and drinks with his own money. That song, "Blow, Wind," (Pūt, vējini) tied Kurzeme —the country— to independence. A second folk song, "My father's district is small, but it prospers," (Mazs bij' tēva novadinis), came as close as possible to an outright reference to the "fatherland," declaring pride in the accomplishments of the small Latvian nation. A more dangerous poem of the nineteenth century national awakening, "The Castle of Light" (Gaismas pils), slipped in and out of the Soviet festival repertoire, because its symbolism was known to all: the buried castle raised to the surface stood for the submerged Latvian nation which would blossom once again some day.<sup>12</sup>

In 1990, the tacit anthems of the Soviet age could recall the depressing reality, but also the spirit of hope, which had preceded the new epoch of free speech. "Unofficial

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<sup>12</sup> In the seventies, these images were evoked anew in the highly popular choral song with words by Jānis Peters, set to music by Raimonds Pauls, Manai dzimtenei ("To My Homeland").

anthems" were no longer needed to vent suppressed feelings of opposition to Soviet rule. A desire for national independence was now amply expressed in political speeches, demonstrations, the three national anthems, other songs such as "The Estonian Flag," "May You Live Forever, Latvia," and "We Were Born Lithuanians,"<sup>13</sup> and works composed for performance at these festivals.

In Estonia, among the most popular songs of 1990 was a newly composed piece by René Eespere. His "The Time of Awakening" (Ärkamise aeg) was applauded enthusiastically by audiences calling for encores;<sup>14</sup> it recites a simple, concise, and very personal story of Estonia, with which many could identify. Most families maintained memories of a better life which had been broken by war, murder, Soviet terror, colonization and deportations:<sup>15</sup>

Meri siin  
seisma jäi,  
keegi peatas ta,  
kallas veest  
jagu sai,  
kaldast algas maa:  
tasane,  
kullane,  
kivine,  
mullane,  
pilvine,  
tuuline,  
ootust täis.

The sea here  
stood still,  
somebody halted it,  
the shore  
overcame the water,  
from the shore began the land:  
level,  
golden,  
rocky,  
earthy,  
cloudy,  
windy,  
full of hope.

Peagi siin kokku said  
esimemm ja taat,  
vaevaga kodu lõid,

Next, the first mother and father  
came together here,  
with hard work, they built a home,

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<sup>13</sup> See Eesti lipp, Tev mūžam dzīvot, Latvija!, and Lietuviais esame mes gime in Appendix I.

<sup>14</sup> The persistence of the audience was rewarded, for example, at the closing of the Song Festival: After "Time of Awakening" was sung, the concert announcer began to announce the program finale ("The Estonian Flag"), but he was silenced by loud, incessant applause. "The Time of Awakening" was then repeated by the choir.

<sup>15</sup> Here, the lines of the song are broken up in the first stanza, to show the pauses in the melody as performed by the choir.

lapsed majja tõid.  
Oli õnn, oli rõõm,  
oli naer, oli nutt,  
oli töö, oli vaev  
sellel maal.

brought children into the home.  
There was happiness, there was joy,  
there was laughter, there were tears,  
there was work, there was hardship,  
in this land.

(Refrain, repeated twice):

Eestimaa, Eestimaa,  
oled mu kodumaa,  
oled mu hingele lähedal.  
Eestimaa, Eestimaa,  
oled mu kodumaa,  
oled mu südames sügaval.

Estonia, Estonia,  
you are my homeland,  
you are close to my soul.  
Estonia, Estonia,  
you are my homeland,  
you are deep within my heart.

Tulega, mõõgaga  
tuli võõras mees,  
Häda tõi, valu tõi,  
võõrast leiba sõi.  
Langes taat, memmeke,  
lapseeas vennake,  
pisaraist märjaks sai kogu maa.

With fire, with sword,  
there came a foreign man,  
Bringing evil, bringing pain,  
eating other people's bread.  
Father was slain, mother was slain,  
little brother also— still a child,  
The entire country was soaked in tears.

(Refrain, repeated twice)

Isa meelt, emakeelt  
hoian sellel maal,  
taadimaa, memmemaa,  
endiselt on ta:  
tasane, kullane, kivine, mullane, level, golden, rocky, earthy,  
pilvine, tuuline, ootust täis.

I'll hold on to father's spirit, mother's tongue  
in this land,  
it has been father's land, mother's land,  
from the beginning:  
cloudy, windy, full of hope.

(Refrain, repeated twice)

A song with a similar emotional charge in Latvia was a poem by the national poet, Rainis (1865-1929), set to music in 1990 by the young composer, Mārtiņš Brauns (b. 1951). In the official opening concert and the encore after the closing concert, "Sun, Thunder, Daugava" (Saule, Pērkons, Daugava) was conducted by a well-known conductor appointed by the festival's organizers, but after the first encore, the choir called out its own favorite to lead. This second encore, conducted by Ivars Bērziņš, was sung without the usual orchestra accompaniment, in the hushed, sacred atmosphere which had been established after the

singing of the "Lord's Prayer" and the national anthem. Like "Time of Awakening" in Estonia, the song recalled history, but the Latvian history was set in mythological time, describing the permanent bonds between the Latvians and their country, a mission of persistence and survival which was decreed by the great powers of nature: The Sun, Thunder (Pērkons), and the River Daugava:

Saule Latvi sēdināja  
Tur kur gali satiekas:  
Balta jūra, zaļa zeme,  
Latvei vārtu atslēdziņa.

Latvei vārtu atslēdziņa,  
Daugaviņa sargātāja.  
Sveši ļaudis vārtus lauza,  
Jūrā krita atslēdziņa.

Zilzibēņu pērkons spēra,  
Velniem ņēma atslēdziņu,  
Nāvi, dzīvi Latve slēdza:  
Baltu jūru, zaļu zemi;  
Nāvi, dzīvi Latve slēdza:  
Baltu jūru, zaļu zemi.

Saule Latvi sēdināja  
Baltas jūras maliņā,  
Vēji smiltis putināja,  
Ko lai dzēra latvju bērni?

Saule lika Dieviņam  
Lai tas raka Daugaviņu.  
Zvēri raka, Dieviņš lēja  
No mākoņa dzīv'ūdeni.

The sun placed Latvia  
At the point where the ends meet:  
White sea,<sup>16</sup> green land,  
Latvia with the key to the gate.

Latvia with the key to the gate,  
Daugava, the defender.  
Foreign people broke the gate,  
The key fell into the sea.

Blue-lightninged thunder struck,  
Took the key from the demons,  
Latvia locked together death and life:  
White sea and green land;  
Latvia locked together death and life:  
White sea and green land.

The sun placed Latvia  
At the edge of the white sea,  
The sand drifted in the wind,  
What should the Latvian children drink?

The sun ordered Dieviņš<sup>17</sup>  
To dig the Daugava.  
The animals dug, and Dieviņš poured  
Life's water from a cloud.

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<sup>16</sup> "White sea" (balta jūra) refers to the Baltic Sea (Baltijas jūra).

<sup>17</sup> Dieviņš— Diminutive of Dievs, God; in Latvian folklore, Dieviņš appears as a kind old man helping people in need.

Dzīves ūdens, nāves ūdens  
 Daugavā satecēja.  
 Es pamērcu pirksta galu,  
 Abus jūtu dvēselē:  
 Nāves ūdens, dzīves ūdens:  
 Abus jūtu dvēselē.

The water of life, the water of death  
 Flowed into the Daugava.  
 I placed my finger into it,  
 I feel both in my soul:  
 The water of death, the water of life:  
 I feel both in my soul.

Saule mūsu māte,  
 Daugav' sāpju aukle,  
 Pērkons, velna spērējs—  
 Tas mūsu tēvs.

The sun is our mother,  
 Daugava soothes the pain,  
 Pērkons, slayer of the devil—  
 He is our father.

Saule mūsu māte,  
 Daugav' sāpju aukle,  
 Pērkons, velna spērējs—  
 Tas mūsu tēvs.

The sun is our mother,  
 Daugava soothes the pain,  
 Pērkons, slayer of the devil—  
 He is our father.

Even if the patriotic songs<sup>18</sup> are not considered, the festival programs differed greatly from those of the Soviet era: No longer did the choirs perform any songs in Russian, as in the postwar years. The forced "brotherhood of the Soviet nations," propagated by the mandatory inclusion of songs from the other Soviet republics, was also gone. The voluntarily chosen international repertoire of the festivals was now concentrated in references to the common fate of the Baltic nations: At all three festivals, songs from each of the other two Baltic nations were included in the program,<sup>19</sup> reflecting the popular sentiment that had

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<sup>18</sup> At the Lithuanian song festival, patriotic songs sung at the conclusion of the concert by the combined choir were songs composed before World War II. See Appendix I for texts of the folksong, "Where the Level Fields Are" (*Kur lygūs laukai*), "Where the Šešupė Flows" (*Kur bėga Šešupė*), and "We Were Born Lithuanians," (*Lietuviais esame mes gime*). The latter song in the fall of 1991 was played together with the Lithuanian National Anthem at the end of every broadcasting day on Lithuanian Radio.

<sup>19</sup> In Estonia, the Lithuanian folksong arranged by Jonas Švedas, "On the Shores of the Nemunas," the Latvian folksong, "Blow, Wind" (arr. by Andrejs Jurjāns), and "Lullaby" (words by the Latvian poet Aspāzija, music by Raimonds Pauls). In Latvia "Three Days, Three Nights" (Tallat-Kelpša) and "Winter Singer" (Ernesaks, words by Juhan Liiv); Baltic collaboration was symbolized in the collaboration of the Latvian poet, Māra Zālīte, and Estonian composer, Veljo Tormis, in "Three Stars." In Lithuania, "Dawn" (Lūdig) and "My Father's Homestead is Small" (folk song, arr. by Helmārs Pavasaris).

governed the Singing Revolution of the late eighties.<sup>20</sup> Only a few non-Baltic compositions were performed at the song festivals.<sup>21</sup>

The Baltic songs sung at each of the three festivals, and the long applause after these songs, reveal a consciousness that the Baltic nations are similar in their love of song. Songs represent the common bonds of recent history, common cultural consciousness, and common goals of the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. For the Latvian song festival, the Estonian composer, Veljo Tormis, set to music a poem, "Three Stars" (*Trīs zvaigznes*), by the contemporary Latvian poet, Māra Zālīte. A brief, bilingual Estonian and Latvian poetic speech by Tormis explained the meaning of Baltic songs and song festivals:

Kolm tähte — Trīs zvaigznes,	[in Estonian, repeated in Latvian]
Kolm õde — Trīs māsas,	Three stars,
Kolm laulupidu — Trīs dziesmusvētki	Three sisters,
	Three song festivals;

Üks mure — Viena bēda,	One suffering,
Üks lootus — Viena cerība,	One hope,
Üks vabadus — Viena brīvība.	One liberty.

Ühte käigu meie hääled,	[In Estonian]
Ühte sündigu südamed,	Let our voices move together,
Ühte laulu laugenegu —	Let our hearts be born together,
	Let the songs be sounded together —
[These are lines from an Estonian folksong; see variant in Tedre 1969, Vol. 1: 133]	

Lai mums kopā domas domā,	[In Latvian]
Lai mums sirdis savieno,	Let our thoughts be thought together,
Kopā dziesmas dziedādami!	Let our hearts be united,
	Singing songs together!

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<sup>20</sup> A year earlier, leading rock musicians in the three republics called for Baltic unity in a trilingual song, "Baltija Awakens" (See *Atmostas Baltija* in Appendix I). The song was played at the close of the Latvian folk dance festival in 1990.

<sup>21</sup> The Estonian and Lithuanian children's choirs sang "Hymn to Freedom," by O. Peterson; the Lithuanian choir sang the prelude to Verdi's opera, "Ermani," while the Estonian choir performed Estonian translations of a Finnish folksong from the *Kanteletar* (arranged by E. Linnala), "Indian War Dance" (F. Kõrling), a Russian poem by Sergei Esenin, "Birch," (music by Popatenko), and a series of Swedish folksongs recorded in Estonia (translated by J. Kross, arranged by V. Tormis).



Many of the songs discussed above are works created and performed by professional or highly trained artists, and were diffused mainly through print, recording, radio, and television. In 1990, they were known, accepted, and repeatedly enjoyed by a large part of the Baltic population. Their performance contexts outside the mass media were limited to the relatively formal setting of the concert stage. Such songs reveal the traditional need that Baltic people have for songs which express their national aspirations. The love of songs in the Baltic is directly translated into a need for singing —active performance of songs— by many different persons in many different contexts.

Audiences at the song festivals participate in the performance of the choir which is standing on stage. It is the listeners who determine which songs will be repeated, and which composers and conductors will become most popular. As the choir sings favorite songs, the audience sometimes joins hands in the air, rocking to and fro, singing along. Favorite conductors are cheered by choir and audience alike, and the chosen songs are applauded at length until an encore is granted. After each song, when conductors step down from the conducting stage, they are met by a crowd of persons who come to present these national leaders with flowers.

Other informal traditions complement the popular spirit of the planned festival program: One day at the beginning of each festival is devoted to a procession in which the festival performers from all corners of the republic pass by, singing and dancing, to the applause of crowds lining the street. Here, the national community meets: Spectators cheer each choir and dance ensemble, persons in the procession watch the faces of the onlookers to see friends and relatives who call to them, run out to give them flowers, walk for a while with them, then return to await other acquaintances. The procession continues for several

hours, as the festival performers file by at a brisk pace.<sup>22</sup> Songs sung here are much less formal than those performed on stage. The favorites are cheerful, upbeat melodies which need no conductor: Some have patriotic words; others are well-known folksongs. The audience sings, too.

Countless singing groups formed within the masses of people filing out of the Latvian song festival grounds after the evening performances of 1990; each trolley car carrying them back into the city echoed with song. In such informal situations, Estonians favored popular tunes such as "The People of Kungla" (Kungla rahvas) and "Saaremaa Island" (Saaremaa), and "My Dear Fatherland" (Mu isamaa armas), while Latvians never tired of the recent popular hit, "Latvia is Here" (Šeit ir Latvija). Simple words, frequent repetition of refrains, and cheerful patriotism made these songs well-known and well-liked. In Lithuania, songs sung by the persons deported to Siberia during the Stalinist period, for example, "Let Me Return to My Fatherland" (Leiskit i tėvyne), but now sung at a brisk, cheerful pace, combined the love of the native soil with memories of injustice and suffering inflicted on Lithuania by the Soviet state.

### Folksongs at the National Song Festivals

In all three Baltic cultures, a distinction is made between archaic folksongs (Estonian regivärss, Latvian tautasdziesma, daina, Lithuanian (klasikinė) liaudies daina) and other songs, such as church songs, international ballads, original poems by recognized poets and

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<sup>22</sup> In the four-and-a-half hour Latvian procession, I counted persons in the ensembles which were filing by: In three five-minute periods, respectively, 568, 861, and 683 persons passed (an average of 141 persons per minute). In Estonia, the three-hour procession moved much more quickly: In two five-minute periods, 957 and 1072 persons passed me (an average of 203 per minute).

composers, and folklorized pop songs from the mass media. All of these latter categories of songs are given consideration in the scholarly definitions of "folklore," since the processes of folklorization are well known. But folklorists, like the general public, recognize that among the many songs sung in their country, there are texts which are unique in the transnational perspective— folksongs.

The distinctive meters, styles, and use of folk speech which are characteristic of Baltic folk poetry appear in many songs which were once associated (both in content and in practice) with traditional rural rites of passage, calendar customs, and agricultural work. Because these performance contexts remained relatively unchanged over many generations in the preindustrial world, the songs are believed to be tied to the most archaic layers of culture. Many lyrical songs about nature, love, or war, are not bound to ritual or custom, but employ the poetic devices typical of archaic oral poetry. It is this kind of song which is first thought of when the native words for "folksong" are used in the Baltic cultures, and, for sake of a better term which encompasses the more archaic forms of folk poetry, this dissertation also uses the native terms listed above, "archaic folksongs," or simply "folksongs" with reference to this specific category of songs.

Conventional literary analysis reveals great differences among the three Baltic traditions of folk poetry.<sup>23</sup> Significant similarities appear, however, when attention is turned

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<sup>23</sup> Literary analysis of the meters of Baltic folk poetry has identified the characteristic number of syllables per line, characteristic sequences of accented and unaccented syllables, laws governing the appearance of long and short syllables, alliteration and assonance, and the semantic structures of lines, line couplets or sequences of lines, stanzas, and entire songs. Each nation's folk poetry, bound to the phonetic, grammatical, and semantic qualities of its language, differs greatly from the other two. For example, Estonian regivärss meter resembles Latvian daina meter only in the least rigorous application of the frequently used term, "trochee": In Estonian songs, the length of the word-initial syllable plays a role in the positioning of the word in a text, but this is not true in the dainas. The mandatory caesura (word-break) after each colon (four metric syllables) of the Latvian songs, on the other hand, is not required in Estonian texts. While well defined metrical restraints determine the forms possible in Latvian and Estonian folk poetry, Lithuanian folksongs display a relatively broad variety of meters. Semantic elements in the songs are influenced by language: In Latvian and Lithuanian, for example,

from the language of folksongs to their performance styles and contexts— from the songs to the singing (Schwietering 1935). Across the Baltic, folksongs were an integral part of the agrarian folklife before the region's industrialization and urbanization (processes which still continue today). Contextual analysis reveals, not only similarities among the archaic traditions, but also the identical break which took place in all three cultures, in the shift from earlier folksong traditions to the choral songs that have largely replaced them in modern culture.

The Baltic national movements emerged in the nineteenth century, inspired and influenced by similar activities in other European lands. Folksongs were seen as a basic, unique form of art, to be reproduced in both written literature and in musical performance. Folksong texts were eagerly included in the repertoire of the growing Baltic choral movements. Budding musicians either composed new melodies for the words, or went to the folk, wrote down music from oral tradition, transposed it into meters and scales and added harmonies according to the rules of the elite music (especially German) which was popular in Europe at the time. In the early twentieth century, following the lead of innovative European composers such as Béla Bartók, Baltic composers began seeking and copying the unique harmonies and dissonances which could be found in the living oral folksong traditions of their countries. Words and melodies have thus been travelling out of oral tradition into the elite, school-taught culture of the three nations for a century or more. The reworked songs were diffused throughout the national territory by choirs and published songbooks, and they folklorized once more, reentering the informal song repertoire.

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grammatical gender contributes to the meanings of plant and animal names as metaphors for men and women, while in Estonian, the absence of grammatical gender coincides with the absence of gender-related metaphors (See Korsakas et al. 1963: 260-277, L. Sauka 1993: 83-88, Laugaste 1977: 124-194, Zeps 1989).

The production of the new (choral) folksong variants has become highly specialized. Usually, a fieldworker collects, edits, and publishes an oral song which is then arranged and republished by a composer educated in the European classical music tradition. A conductor uses elaborate hand signals while leading a choir whose voices have been trained and homogenized in four or more groups, including basses, tenors, altos, and sopranos. Even if the collector, composer and conductor may sometimes be a single person, his or her voice is rarely heard when the new melodies are sung. In the greatly expanded singing tradition of the National Song Festival, yet another specialist (or committee) chooses which songs should be performed. In the archaic folksong traditions, which still thrived in the Baltic countryside in the first part of the twentieth century, most of the actions listed above were concentrated in the voice of one gifted person who learned words from oral tradition, improvised variations to suit the given situation, and, having a voice that stood out in any singing community, led the tempo and tone of the song. The lead singer selected the appropriate songs for each occasion.

At the three National Song Festivals in 1990, folksongs were not sung at the most significant parts —the beginnings and endings— of the programs. Both in the planned concerts and in the informal singing which appeared off stage, recent compositions found the greatest resonance. This was a historical moment in which the Baltic nations, free of Soviet censorship and celebrating national song festivals needed, above all, to sing explicitly patriotic texts— songs which were described in the first part of this chapter. Folksongs were not in danger of fading from public view, however: In Latvia, a concert program was devoted entirely to folksongs, from the earliest nineteenth-century harmonies to the most recent works by contemporary composers. Many of the thirty two songs performed there are a stable part of any Latvian choir's repertoire, sung frequently throughout the country. Some folksongs

appeared in the other two Latvian concerts, as well: In the opening and closing concerts, four of twenty eight, and nine of thirty songs by Latvian composers were folksongs. In Estonia, the proportions in two concerts were five of twenty seven, and seven of fifteen songs; in the single Lithuanian concert, seven out of nineteen songs by Lithuanian composers originated in folk tradition.<sup>24</sup>

At the Latvian festival, a short performance presented a form of singing which could once be found at traditional celebrations throughout Latvia: Apdziedāšanās, or a "war" of songs.<sup>25</sup> A singer from the western region of Kurzeme stood together with two singers from Vidzeme (northern Latvia), accompanied by groups from their regions.<sup>26</sup> In an entertaining series of stanzas, they made fun of the festival organizers, conductors, and political leaders of Latvia. The introductory stanzas had been planned in advance, and appeared in the typewritten "scenario" of the concert program:<sup>27</sup>

(Lead singer from Kurzeme):

Es varēju Rīgas kungus	I can take the lords of Rīga
Pa vienami apdziedāt;	And ridicule them in song, one by one;

(The group repeats the second line):

Ē-ā, ai radi rā, pa vienami apdziedāt: And ridicule them in song, one by one;

(The Leader from Kurzeme continues):

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<sup>24</sup> The total numbers of songs given here do not include works by foreign composers.

<sup>25</sup> There are some similarities between the songs sung in this portion of the festival, and the war of songs composed by the Latvian poet, Rainis, after a concert of apdziedāšanās songs at the Song Festival of 1888. See Rainis 1979: 61-96, 316-321.

<sup>26</sup> Kurzeme was represented by Gita Barkovska, accompanied by the choir, Līvi. Vidzeme was represented by Anita Garanča and Daila Krastiņa, with the choir, Sigulda.

<sup>27</sup> XX Vispārējie Latviešu dziesmu svētki (n.p.; typed, xeroxed copy given to concert organizers), "Koncerts 'Tautasdziesma' 1990. gada 6. un 7. jūlijā," pp. 11-17.

Vienam bija šķības kājas,  
Otram lika muguriņ'!

One has crooked legs,  
Another has a crooked back!

(Group):

Ē-ā, ai radi rā, otram lika muguriņ'! Another has a crooked back!

The singer from Vidzeme, however, had decided to break with the prescribed program, and instead of singing the words appearing in the scenario,<sup>28</sup> she improvised a comment on the strange situation, one which was entirely foreign to folk tradition:

Ko dziedāja kurzemnieki,  
Ka dziesmiņu nemācēj'?

What are the people from Kurzeme singing,  
They don't know any songs!

(The half stanza was repeated by the group from Vidzeme, in a two-part harmony typical of that region):

Ko dziedāja kurzemnieki,  
Ka dziesmiņu nemācēj'?

What are the people from Kurzeme singing,  
They don't know any songs!

(Leader from Vidzeme):

Visas jūsu skaistas dziesmas  
Grāmatāsi sarakstīt's!

All of your pretty songs  
Are written in books!

(Group):

Visas jūsu skaistas dziesmas  
Grāmatāsi sarakstīt's!

All of your pretty songs  
Are written in books!

The singer from Vidzeme, herself a talented singer, replied without skipping a beat (with the group repeating her words as above):

Vai Dieviņi, vai Dieviņi,  
Ko mēs ļaudis darīsim?  
Tām sievāmi garas mēles  
Kā tās cūku pavardnīcas!

Oh my God, oh my God,  
What will we do?  
Those women have long tongues  
Like the spoons used for pig swill!

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<sup>28</sup> "Melnas aitas, baltas aitas let pa ceļu brēkādamas; Tās nebija melnas aitas, Tās kaimiņu dziedātājas!" [Black sheep, white sheep are bleating as they go along the road; Those aren't black sheep, they're our neighbors singing!]. XX Vispārējie Latviešu dziesmu svētki, p. 15.

The Kurzeme singer stumbled slightly, then thought up a reply, bragging about the ease with which she had angered one of her two opponents from Vidzeme:

Divi bija, divi bija	There were two, there were two
Abi divi saplēsās:	The two of them got into a fight:
Kad to vienu apdziedāja,	When one was ridiculed in song,
Tad tas otrs apskaitās!	The other one became angry!

She then returned to the program as it had been planned:

Es jums teikšu, diriģenti,	I'll tell you, conductors,
Kāda slava jums atnāca:	What they're gossiping about you:
Jūs esot dziesmu dēļi	You fought over songs
Pirtī pliki kāvušies!	Naked in the sauna!

Laughter erupted from the audience, who also had heard rumors that the leading conductors battled intensely over the honor of conducting the most popular songs. The next twenty seven stanzas addressed individuals well known in Latvia— politicians, conductors, and cultural leaders:<sup>29</sup>

Tu, Jansoni uzmanies, Ka tev stakle nepārplīst: Viena kāja Rīgā stāv, Otra stāva Ņujorkā!	Jansons, <sup>30</sup> watch out That your crotch doesn't split: You stand with one leg in Rīga, And the other one in New York!
Luste man, luste man, Godmaņami mutes dot; Godmaņami liela bārda, Smieklī nāca, nevarēju!	It would be fun, it would be fun If I could kiss Godmanis; <sup>31</sup> But Godmanis has a big beard, And I couldn't keep from laughing!
Peter' Jānim kuplas miesas, Vēl kuplāka dvēselīt; — Dod, Dieviņi, izturēt Maskavā grozoties!	Jānis Peters <sup>32</sup> has a big body, And an even bigger soul; — God grant that he hold out Working in Moscow!

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<sup>29</sup> For the full text, see Apdziedāšanās in Appendix I.

<sup>30</sup> Andrejs Jansons, a Latvian emigré composer and conductor from New York.

<sup>31</sup> Ivars Godmanis, Prime Minister of Latvia.

<sup>32</sup> Jānis Peters— A (heavysset) popular poet who was now the Ambassador of Latvia to the Russian Federation.



Ko Zirnīti lielījies,	What are you bragging about, Zirnīs, <sup>33</sup>
Ka pie manis negulēji? —	That you haven't slept with me? —
Atrad' tavu bikšu pogu	I found your pants button
Savas gultas malīnā!	Next to my bed!

The songs provided humor at the song festival concert and showcased the talents of sharp-witted singers, demonstrating the adaptability of Latvian folksong traditions to the modern world. However, with the exception of the brief, improvised exchange at the beginning of the performance, when the two singers sparred among themselves, the performance was different from the singing traditions which it supposedly presented. Performance on stage, with the help of electronic amplification, had transformed the nature of the archaic tradition of competitive singing: There was no "war," since the persons at whom the songs were aimed could not step up to the microphone and defend themselves. They, like all other members of the audience at the concert, sat and listened to singers who were spared of counterattacks which might force them to retreat or change the words that they sang. The songs conformed perfectly to the meter of oral poetry, but the performers had clearly prepared and memorized most of them in advance. This performance was much closer to the archaic singing traditions than any of the other folksongs sung at the three song festivals: The skills of the lead singers, the call-response performance, and the texts which were sung all corresponded to the folklore of the past. One very important addition —the massive, passive audience which included persons about whom the songs were sung— transformed the folksongs, giving them functions typical for the choral tradition but not characteristic of singing folk communities. On the enormous song festival stage, folksongs become frozen symbols of national culture. In a different context —that of the folklore festival— folksongs take on different functions, and their political meaning becomes less apparent.

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<sup>33</sup> Jānis Zirnīs, popular leader of several acclaimed choirs. The slapstick humor of this stanza elicited loud laughter.

### Baltic Folklore Festivals

On July 6, 1990, I went to the "Day of Folklore" which was held at the Open-Air Museum on the outskirts of Rīga, one of the many events held concurrently with the Latvian National Song Festival. As I walked along the road which leads through the museum, listening to the songs and music coming from the homesteads representing different ethnographic regions of Latvia, I heard fragments of conversation which told me that the folksongs appearing on stage at the National Song Festival were not appreciated by all persons in Latvia. Three young Latvian men, for example, talked among themselves about the "Folksong" concert to be held that evening on the Song Festival stage: "I'm generally sick of listening to the song arrangements, you know, with a mezzosoprano bawling out the tunes. I'd rather have the real folk song!" Elsewhere, a Latvian woman was explaining in broken English to a young friend from France why she was happy that he had come to the museum that day, and not to the National Dance Festival at the stadium, where the dancing would be "like gymnastics, acrobatics— It's not like this!"

I could not squeeze through the crowd standing by the gate of the enclosed yard of a farmstead from Latgale (Eastern Latvia), but could hear from outside a small group of about ten elderly women from that district, as they sang songs of the Midsummer celebration, with the characteristic refrain, "Leigū." Their voices were suited for outdoor singing, and needed no artificial amplification: They were not like the trained, tremolo (trembling?) voices of classical musicians, but came out much louder, as if they were calling, in harmony, to acquaintances in some distant place. There was no conductor, and they needed no notes or books to remember the words: If small pauses appeared after a stanza, then a voice would

immediately call out new words, and the group would join in. This was an "ethnographic ensemble," as they are called, a group of persons from a small rural district who remember songs as they were once traditionally sung, and now perform these songs for audiences at folklore festivals and concerts. A number of such groups were founded in all three Baltic countries by folklore fieldworkers, who brought together singers to recreate the harmonies and group singing traditions of earlier generations. The members of ethnographic ensembles, all of them amateur performers, encountered devoted audiences of folklore enthusiasts at their concerts, and, once established, continued to sing together, enjoying their public role as preservers of the old songs and group singing traditions.

Other groups —"folklore ensembles"— are groups whose members have not grown up with the folk traditions they perform, but have learned them from fieldwork, archival materials, and scholarly publications. These groups not only performed singing traditions like those of the ethnographic ensembles, but also exhorted their audiences to establish similar groups which would revive the heritage of singing.

At the 1990 Day of Folklore, word went around that at 1:00 near the entrance to the museum, in front of the great eighteenth-century tavern, there would be a performance by the most famous Latvian folklore ensemble, Skandinieki. At the designated hour, only a few tourists stood by the tavern, holding umbrellas against the drizzling rain. One by one, members of the group appeared, unhurried, laughing, joking about the rain. Somebody asked if they would be performing soon, to which one of the two leaders, Helmī Stalte, answered with a smile, "Mēs briestam!" (a phrase with multiple meanings— We are growing/preparing to sprout/intensifying/preparing to burst/expanding as a result of being soaked in water). "Very slowly. Today we are a bit sleepy." Eventually, about ten performers were ready, standing beneath the broad eaves of the tavern, and others arrived after the group began

singing. Helmī's strong voice called out, similar to the voices of the women in the ethnographic ensemble, but younger, more powerful, quickly drawing a large group of listeners:

Jānīt's kļiedza, Jānīt's brēca, Līgo! Jānis is calling, Jānis is shouting, Līgo!<sup>34</sup>

(The group joins in as the half-stanza is completed and repeated):

Pašā dīķa viducē, Līgo!	In the middle of the pond, Līgo!
Jānīt's kļiedza, Jānīt's brēca, Līgo, līgo!	Jānis is calling, Jānis is shouting, Līgo, līgo!
Pašā dīķa viducē, Līgo, līgo!	In the middle of the pond, Līgo!
Jānīt's kļiedza, Jānīt's brēca, Līgo, līgo!	Jānis is calling, Jānis is shouting, Līgo, līgo!
Pašā dīķa viducē, Līgo, līgo!	In the middle of the pond, Līgo!

(For brevity, the repetitions are not indicated in the next stanzas):

Sanākati Jāņa bērni, Līgo!	Gather around, Jānis's children, Līgo!
Velkat Jāni maliņā, Līgo!	Pull Jānis ashore, Līgo!

Izvilkuši maliņā, Līgo!	When you pull him ashore,
Svētīsimi Jāņa dienu, Līgo!	We'll celebrate Jānis's Day;

Jāņa diena svēta diena, Līgo!	Jānis's Day is a holy day,
Aiz visāmi dieniņāmi, Līgo!	Above all other days:

Jāņa dienu Dieva dēli, Līgo!	On Jānis's Day, God's sons
Saules meitu bildināja, Līgo!	Courted the sun's daughter.

Helmī spoke, as if to herself, or to the group, or to all present, "Hey, who still remembers these Midsummer songs (līgotnes)? Today, according to the Old Style Calendar, is Jāņi. We have to finish up the līgo singing. The final hour has come for Jāņi this year! Don't be shy, sing along!" Another singer from the group began a song, calling out,

Celiesi brālīti, auniesi kājas, Get up, brother, and put your shoes on!

(The group joined in on the refrain and repetition, breaking up into harmonies):

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<sup>34</sup> The refrain, "Līgo," is traditional for songs of the Midsummer celebrations (Jāņi) practiced throughout Latvia. Many of the traditional Midsummer songs are about Jānis (John), and are related in name and date of celebration to St. John the Baptist (who is commemorated by Christians on June 24), but otherwise a remnant of what was probably a fertility divinity in the pre-Christian era.

Līgo, līgo! Celiesi brālīti, auniesi kājas, Līgo, līgo!

(The lead singer again sang a line which was repeated by the group):

Iesimi Jānīti ielīgoti...	Let's go sing Jānis in!
Kopāi, kopāi, mūs' pašu ļaudis...	Gather, gather, our people,
Sanākam Jānīti padaudzināti...	Let's gather to praise Jānis!
Klausiesi, Jānīti, kur tevi daudzina...	Listen, Jānis, where you're being praised,
Mūs' pašu muzejā, tur tevi daudzina..	In our museum, that's where you're being praised,
Tur tevi daudzina dziesmiņas dziedot..	There you're being praised by singing songs.

(Another singer took over the lead):

Celiesi saimniece, auniesi kājas...	Get up, mistress, put your shoes on,
Iesimi Jānīti padaudzināti...	Let's go praise Jānis;
Nebūsi saimniece Jāņos gājuse...	If you haven't celebrated Jāņi, mistress,
Paliksi gotiņas ālavītes...	Your cows will lose their milk.
Celiesi, saimnieksi, auniesi kājas...	Get up, master, get your shoes on,
Iesimi Jānīti padaudzināti...	Let's go praise Jānis;
Nebūsi saimnieksi Jāņos aizgājis...	If you haven't gone to celebrate Jāņi,
Paliksi kumeļi klibķīši...	Your horses will go lame.

(Helmī took over the lead):

Klausiesi, Jānīti, kas tevi daudzina...	Listen, Jānis, who is praising you,
Tie labi ļautiņi, tie tevi daudzina...	These good people, they are praising you!

The improvised reference to the museum in which the ensemble was singing shows that this group was adding new words to the traditional texts it was copying from folk tradition. If asked, the singers explained that they were reviving, not only texts and melodies, but also the traditional communicative functions of songs and singing, engaging the texts in the situational context, as is done in all authentic folklore traditions. Improvisations may embrace the performance context, but the singers of Skandinieki do not invent new texts, for example, about the mythical Jānis: For songs about the supernatural, they rely, word for word, on songs collected from earlier oral traditions.

It was beginning to rain in earnest now. Most of the people listening had umbrellas, and didn't seem to mind. Helmī continued the conversation as before, "And now we need a little bit of spell-casting. So that it wouldn't rain. Right? Well, it needs to rain a little bit."

(Dainis Stalts, the other leader of the group, added, "But not too much.") "But well," continued Helmī, "It should stop soon. So we need a medium-strength spell-casting." She called out a song in a minor key:

Nelīst lietus, nelīst lietus, Līgo, līgo! Don't rain, don't rain, Līgo, līgo!

(The group again joined in for the second half of the line, repeating it twice):

Šodien lietus nevajaga, Līgo!	Today we don't need rain, Līgo!
Šodien lietus nevajaga, Līgo!	Today we don't need rain, Līgo!

Salīs manas Jāņu zāles, Līgo, līgo!	My grasses and flowers for Jāņi will be soaked,
Salīs paši Jāņa bērni, Līgo!	Jānis's children will be soaked.

Dod, Dieviņi, saules gaismu, Līgo, Līgo!	God, give us sunlight,
Dzen lietiņu jūriņāi, Līgo!	Drive the rain into the sea!

Lai iekūra Jāņa bērni, Līgo, līgo!	So that Jānis's children
Kalnā Jāņa uguntiņu, Līgo!	Light a fire for Jānis on the hill! <sup>35</sup>

"Soon it will stop," said Helmī, in a matter-of fact voice. Another Midsummer song followed, and then Helmī ordered, "Musicians! Get moving!" A young fiddler (Helmī's daughter) began a tune, and soon was joined by another fiddle, a bagpipe, a drum, and cowbells. The remaining members of the group ran out into the crowd and took partners, most of whom were eager to join in (with the exception of some tourists from abroad, recognizable by their clothes and cameras, and the folklore fieldworker afraid of leaving his camera and tape recorder unattended). The dance steps were simple, and most people learned them quickly. After a few minutes, the musicians stopped and called out, "Dancers choose nondancers!" The size of the dancing group doubled, as the music started up again. Another dance began after this one, broken again by "Dancers choose nondancers!" The music would speed up toward the end of a dance; after a brief pause, a new dance would begin. The rain

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<sup>35</sup> The song was recorded in the 1930's near Madona, from Ieva Puriņa. It was published in a booklet of Midsummer's songs edited by the leader of Skandinieki, Stalte and Lange 1989: 13.

had stopped, and a happy crowd was hopping, stepping, and jumping every which way. The Day of Folklore continued; the performances of many other Latvian ethnographic ensembles and folklore ensembles, like the performance by Skandinieki, began in song, and ended in dance.

The Day of Folklore featured what is considered to be "the real folksong," "authentic" folklore which is often contrasted with the revised forms of singing displayed at the National Song Festival. Authenticity is related to several things: The words and melodies (including harmonies) should resemble as closely as possible the songs that were once sung in the countryside and have been recorded on fieldwork expeditions; authentic characteristics include the voice timbre of rural singers when they sang outdoors, alone or in small groups, with no artificial amplification. In performances of authentic folklore, the distance between performers and audience is intentionally broken, usually with dances, demonstrating that in folklore, anybody is a potential performer, regardless of their musical training. Folklore is most authentic, it is thought, when it is not performed on stage, but becomes "a way of life." Authenticity extends into areas of traditional ritual and magic: Songs reflect their performers' beliefs and relationships to the supernatural world. To the singers of Skandinieki, for example, the Jānis of Midsummer's songs is a real being, recalled into existence by the enigmatic song texts passed across centuries in folk tradition.

In Lithuania, the movement of folksong revival began earlier than in Latvia, and had grown to mass proportions already around 1980. I had planned to begin studying the Lithuanian singing traditions at an international folklore festival, Baltica, which was to take place in July of 1990 but was cancelled due to the Soviet blockade. I visited my first Lithuanian folklore festival nearly two years later, in May of 1992: Skamba, skamba kankliai

("The kanklės<sup>36</sup> resound") is a festival organized since the mid-seventies by the Vilnius City Council. Like the Latvian Day of Folklore described above, this festival features many different ethnographic and folklore ensembles performing at the same time, with audiences moving from place to place to sample the different regional singing traditions. Unlike the typical Latvian festival, however, the favorite setting for the Lithuanian celebrations is in the center of the city, in the Old Town district of Vilnius. Here, enclosed medieval courtyards provide a good acoustic setting for unamplified music, with enough space for the dancing which is always a part of folklore performances. The photogenic Alumnatas Courtyard, surrounded by three tiers of balconies, has been a favorite at folklore festivals. Several performances were held here during the festival of 1992.

At the beginning of an evening of "Favorite Songs" on May 28, the Alumnatas Courtyard was full with about five hundred people of all generations, and one hundred fifty more filling the balconies; a steady stream of newcomers kept squeezing in to add to the audience. The tourist season in Vilnius had not yet begun, and, not counting the performers visiting from abroad, these were all native Lithuanians. It was an evening when a few folklore ensembles had been asked to sing their favorite songs, with the idea that such songs would also be known by many in the audience. Most of the ensembles (including a visiting thirty-member Norwegian group) brought along instruments, and favorite songs of the past two and a half decades alternated with dances. The style of singing was like that of folk traditions: A lead singer called out the first few words of a stanza, with the rest of the ensemble (and audience) gradually joining in, some on the same note as the leader, others rumbling in harmony a third or fifth (two or four notes) below. Often, the leader's voice would stand out even when the entire courtyard was singing with her. While the long,

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<sup>36</sup> kanklės— the stringed national instrument of Lithuania.



stretched refrains were still echoing from the courtyard walls, the lead singer began another stanza. This flowing, open style popular in Žemaitija (Northwest Lithuania) was a favorite in large singing groups. A young woman from the Vilnius University student folklore ensemble led a song from Žemaitija, and was joined by her ensemble and a large part of the audience<sup>37</sup>:

Ait muotuši par lymelį  
Sūnaitių budinti,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, sūnaitių budint;

Go, mother, across the yard,  
Wake your sons,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, wake your sons;

Kelkiat, kelkiat, sūnaitelia,  
Nabiëra seseles,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, nabiër seserel

Wake, wake, sons,  
Your sister is gone,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, your sister is gone

Pakinkyket šešis žirgus,  
Visus šešis šierus,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, visus šešis šier

Saddle six steeds,  
All six gray,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, all six gray

Vyket, vyket sesereli  
Šešiais veiškelialias,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, Šešiais veiškelial

Ride, ride after your sister  
Along six roads,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, along six roads

Kad prijuosit sraunių upi,  
Tin pasigirdysit,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, tin pasigirdys

When you ride to a swift river,  
You'll water your steeds there,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, you'll water your steeds there

Kad prijuosit žali giri,  
Tin pasiganysit,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, tin pasiganys

When you ride upon a green forest  
You'll graze your steeds there,  
O-o-o, o-jo-joj, you'll graze there

Love songs— songs of courtship and marriage such as this song about a bride who is stolen from her mother's home, have been a mainstay of the Lithuanian folksong revival. Although in performance, especially at folklore festivals, the songs have been ascribed the meaning of national and regional symbols, the texts themselves usually have no patriotic connotations. When they are sung in the folklore ensembles of young Lithuanian women and men, they have much to do with the relationships that form among group members. The

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<sup>37</sup> Led by Jurga Jurgelytė, who later wrote down the words for me.

above song, for example, was led by a student who was soon to be engaged to a young man also singing in the Vilnius University ensemble.<sup>38</sup> For the older members of the audience, too, the songs of love recalled memories of singing in their youth during the sixties and seventies.

Between performances by the ensembles, members of the audience were encouraged to lead songs, which they did with much enthusiasm. Toward the end of the evening, a large, strong-shouldered man (somebody nudged me, "the Minister of the Department of Forestry!") led a folksong which had become popular in recent years, during the political showdown with Moscow. He sang the first line of each stanza in a powerful bass, and was joined by a growing group of men singing the repetition and second half of the stanza in harmony<sup>39</sup>:

Oi lunkela lunkela	Oi, the field, the field
Oi lunkela lunkela,	Oi, the field, the field,
Oi lunkela žalioji pėvela,	Oi the field, the green meadow
Oi lunkela žalioji pėvela.	Oi the field, the green meadow.

(For brevity, the repeated lines are not written out below):

Oi mas piausim šėneli,	Oi we'll cut the hay,
Oi mas piausim, berneli, šėneli.	Oi we'll cut the hay, boys.
Oi mas josim Ryguži,	Oi we'll ride to Riga,
Oi mas josim, berneli, Ryguži.	Oi we'll ride, boys, to Riga.
Slaunas miestas Rygužė,	Riga is a great city,
Dar slaunesnis, berneli, Varšuva.	Even greater, boys, is Warsaw.
Stovi vaiskas kai mūras,	The enemy stands like a brick wall,
Stovi vaiskas, berneli, kai mūras.	The enemy stands, boys, like a brick wall.
Zvimb kulipkos kai bites,	The bullets whiz by like bees,
Zvimb kulipkos, berneli, kai bites.	The bullets whiz by, boys, like bees.

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<sup>38</sup> At another occasion, a student led a song about a man who drinks and loses his money, his hat, and finally— his bride; perhaps she was singing about her friend, who often enjoyed the bottle.

<sup>39</sup> The song, first made popular by the Vilnius University ensemble in the seventies, has been published in several songbooks, among them Kelmickaitė 1989: 28.

Krenta vaiskas kai mūras,	The enemy falls like a brick wall,
Krenta vaiskas, berneli, kai mūras.	The enemy falls, boys, like a brick wall.
Bėga kraujas kai vanduo,	The blood flows like water.
Bega kraujas, berneli, kai vanduo.	The blood flows, boys, like water.
Laka šunes kai levai,	The dogs lap it up like lions,
Laka šunes, berneli, kai levai.	The dogs lap it up, boys, like lions.

This song, which to some recalls the military might of Medieval Lithuania, was popular on the barricades which were built around the Lithuanian parliament and other strategic points in Vilnius, during the "events of January" in 1991, when Soviet troops attempted to break the Lithuanian drive for independence. The only conventional weapons carried in that confrontation were in the hands of the Soviet forces, and the only blood spilled was that of unarmed members of the Lithuanian public. Nonviolent political action requires courage. The text about an enemy which crumbles like a brick wall, and the voices and faces of the men who still sang it frequently and with much bravado after independence was won in 1991, revealed to me the song as a source of Lithuanian bravery, a force which could move, and did move, many thousands to stand up against an armed enemy.

Love songs and war songs were the most popular folksongs sung at nearly any gathering during my visits to Lithuania in the fall of 1991 and spring of 1992; Lithuanian audiences often joined in when familiar texts like the ones at the "Favorite Song" evening were sung. The Vilnius folklore festival also featured several smaller performances in concert halls: Some folksongs were less suited for large, informal outdoor performances. On May 26, at a special concert held for the foreign ambassadors in Lithuania, many groups performed sutartinės, a genre of songs and instrumental music which is unique to Lithuania. The name, sutartinė, is related to a verb meaning "to agree," literally "to put voices or words together," and refers to the performance of these melodies. They are sung by two, three, or four singers, each repeating a brief line in a round, with the voices creating a series of

harmonies and dissonances. The Vilnius University student folklore ensemble, for example, performed a three-part song, "Sleepyhead is Dozing" (*Snaudala snaudžia*). As is typical of many *sutartinės*, a leader (L) calls a line which is repeated by the second singer (2), then the third (3). The short refrain, *tūto*, (which has no lexical meaning) is repeated throughout the song:

L: *Snaudala snaudžia tūto, tūto*

2: *Snaudala snaudžia tūto, tūto*

3: *Snaudala snaudžia tūto, tūto*

L: *Nei verp nei audžia...*

The song, like many *sutartinės*, was sung during a game-dance recalled in several ethnographic descriptions from the first half of this century (variants in Slaviūnas 1958: 508-509, 753-754). In this performance, the singers held hands and walked in a circle around a woman, chiding her for being a sleepyhead:

<i>Snaudala snaudžia, tūto, tūto,</i>	The sleepyhead is dozing, <i>tūto, tūto,</i>
<i>Nei verp nei audžia, tūto, tūto,</i>	She doesn't spin, and she doesn't weave, <i>tūto, tūto,</i>
<i>Nemoka verpti, tūto, tūto,</i>	She doesn't know how to spin, <i>tūto, tūto,</i>
<i>Linus gadina, tūto, tūto!</i>	She's tangling the flax, <i>tūto, tūto!</i>

(The song breaks off when the woman standing in the center begins a lament, singing the plaintive melody by herself):

<i>Jūs sesiulės, jūs melagės:</i>	Sisters, you are liars:
<i>Sakėt mano tėvelis lauku atvažiuoj,</i>	Telling me that my father is riding up outside,
<i>Vienu čiužiu pavaželiu,</i>	With a different carriage,
<i>Antru dar čiužesniu,</i>	And another one even more different,
<i>Vienu bėru žirgeliu,</i>	With one bay steed,
<i>Antru juodberėliu,</i>	Another dark-bay,
<i>Vienu šmaikščiu kančiukėliu,</i>	With one fancy whip,
<i>Antru dar šmaikštesniu,</i>	Another even more fancy,
<i>Vienu lapių kepurėlu,</i>	With one foxskin cap,
<i>Antru sabalėliu,</i>	And another sable,
<i>Mano žirgelis stonioj</i>	My horse is in the stable
<i>A tėvelis seklyč</i>	And father is in the sitting room.

At this concert, "Sleepyhead is Dozing" was made shorter so that the ensemble's performance (including several other songs, instrumental pieces, and dances) would fit into the allotted ten-minute time. The foreign ambassadors in the audience would appreciate the melody of the song, not knowing that an important part had been taken out of the text. A week earlier, at a concert for a Lithuanian audience in Kaunas, the ensemble had sung the full version, in which the women sing that the father of the lazy one is arriving in a carriage hitched to a pig.<sup>40</sup> This final insult provokes the lament which follows, and the words make sense. Lithuanian folklore ensembles, and especially the Vilnius University ensemble, do not usually abbreviate songs in this way. The truncated sutartinė which was performed for foreigners, however, illustrates the fact that for these songs as they are sung today, musical form is just as important, if not more important than text.

Sutartinė texts are simple, recounting, for example, the stages of planting and harvesting flax, or describing other rural work. Many sutartinės consist almost entirely of words and refrains like tūto above, which have no meaning in contemporary Lithuanian. The complex melodies and harmonies, on the other hand, have several modern-day meanings: They are recognized, first of all, as belonging to a singing tradition which is unique among the world's cultures —the Lithuanian equivalent of medieval madrigals found elsewhere in Europe (Mataitis, quoted in Landsbergis 1982: 8). The national significance of these songs is less important to the performers, who spend hours at rehearsals singing sutartinės and dancing the dances that accompany them: Performers (especially women) talk about the hypnotic, relaxing feeling that overcomes them when they sing these songs at length. The words are

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<sup>40</sup> The sutartinė continues: *Verpstas an suolo / Verpstė pasuolėj / Kuodelį paša / Pluoštelį draško / Tavo tevulis / Kelio važiuoja / Kiaulį paskinkis / Geldon susėdis*. [The tow is on the bench / the distaff is under the bench / She tangles the spinning / Tears the fibers / Your father / Rides along the road / hitched to a pig / Sitting in a trough].

less important than the way in which they are passed around a circle of singers, in a repetitive, meditative pattern of harmonies, disharmonies, and syncopated rhythms.

A booklet of fifteen recently recorded folksongs was published for the 1992 Skamba, skamba kankliai festival, and the songs were sung at various festival events. The evening of "Favorite Songs" described above, for example, ended with one of these folksongs from the booklet, a song of farewell which had been recorded and transcribed for the first time only three months before the festival<sup>41</sup>:

Ainam, sesutės, ainam namolia,  
Ainam broliuke, per žali goj(i).  
Aušte aušrela, tekės saulala,  
Tuoį prasidės vėl nauji dēnel(a),  
Aušte aušrela, tekės saulala,  
Tuoį prasidės vėl nauji dēnel(a),

Let's go, sisters, let's go home,  
Let's go, brothers, through the green forest.  
The morning light is dawning, the sun will soon rise,  
Soon it will be a new day,  
The morning light is dawning, the sun will soon rise,  
Soon it will be a new day.

Rytoį iš ryta rugelius kėrsėm,  
Rugelius kėrsėm, ryšėm statys(ėm),  
Kė sustatysėm, kė surikiuosėm,  
Skombės laukelė, kė uždainuos(ėm),  
Kė sustatysėm, kė surikiuosėm,  
Skombės laukelė, kė uždainuos(ėm),

Tomorrow morning we'll cut the rye,  
We'll cut the rye and bind it into sheaves,  
When we stack them up, when we bind them up,  
The field will resound when we sing,  
When we stack them up, when we bind them up,  
The field will resound when we sing.

Ainam, sesutės, ainam namolia,  
Ainam broliuke, per žali goj(i).  
Aušte aušrela, tekės saulala,  
Tuoį prasidės vėl nauji dēnel(a),  
Aušte aušrela, tekės saulala,  
Tuoį prasidės vėl nauji dēnel(a),

Let's go, sisters, let's go home,  
Let's go, brothers, through the green forest.  
The morning light is dawning, the sun will soon rise,  
Soon it will be a new day,  
The morning light is dawning, the sun will soon rise,  
Soon it will be a new day.

Hundreds of songs were sung in many different contexts at the folklore festival in Vilnius: Among the planned events was a meeting of children's folklore ensembles, an evening of drinking, dancing and singing among the adult Lithuanian ensembles and their guests from abroad, a massive evening of dance and song at the outdoor stage in Kalnų Park,

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<sup>41</sup> The song was sung by the ethnographic ensemble, Žiemgala, and recorded at a concert on February 26, 1992. The lead singer at that occasion was Kazimieras Genys; the song was recorded by L. Purlienė and transcribed by R. Ambrazevičius (Ambrazevičius 1992: 16).

and even an "ancient Baltic fire-lighting ritual" on the opening day. The song of departure translated above cannot represent all of the singing styles and texts that I heard that week. It is a very typical song, however, because of its source: Most Lithuanian folksong ensembles repeatedly stress their close ties to oral tradition, noting which songs in their repertoire were learned from a group member's family, which were collected on fieldwork expeditions, and which ones come from archival recordings or academic publications. The distinction between "ethnographic" and "folklore" ensembles, quite clear in Latvia, becomes blurry in Lithuania, where most Lithuanians living in cities are only a generation or two away from the rural villages in which folksong traditions of the preindustrial age were very much alive a few decades ago. In Lithuanian discussions about folksongs, the term, "authentic" refers, first of all, to songs learned or recorded from people who remember living oral traditions in the villages.

In Estonia, the international folklore festival, Baltica, began on July 14, 1992, at the Open-Air museum on the outskirts of Tallinn. Many of the festival participants would arrive only on the next day, when the official opening ceremonies would take place in the center of town; the number of people at the Estonian museum that day was much smaller than the massive participation which I had seen at Latvian and Lithuanian folklore festivals. After informal performances at the homestead from Northwest Estonia, and singing at the swings (once a traditional gathering place for rural Estonian youth), about one hundred people gathered in the field near a great windmill, where they locked into a ring, arms around their neighbors' waists, and walked slowly in a circle to the rhythm of regivārss songs.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> This way of singing, also practiced in some parts of Scandinavia, was customary for smaller groups on the Estonian island of Kihnu (Tampere 1964, Vol 4: 16-17).

A member of the well-known folklore ensemble, Leegajus, led a song in the traditional way: She called out a line in the loud, clear singing voice of rural singers, and was joined by the group (singing in unison) for the last two syllables of the line. The group (G) repeated the line, the leader (L) joined them on the last two syllables, and then called out the next line:

L: Kui mina hakkam laule-	maie	maie, laulemaie, luule-	maie
G:	maie, kui mina hakkam laule-	maie	maie...

The singer boasted about her skill at leading songs:

Kui mina hakkam laulemaie, laulemaie, luulemaie, küla see jääb mind kuulamaie, valda sie jääb vahtimaie. Kust sie laps on laulud saanud, sanad on viisile vedanud? Sie käis Harjus oppimassa, Virus aga viisi vottemassa. Mina kui muistsin, vasta kostin: Ei käind Harjus oppimassa, Virus ei viisi vottemassa. Olgu terve siegi eite, kes käis pulmissa monessa, kes käis saajassa sa'assa, pidas aga minda poue'essa, kandis mind aga kanelassa. Sield mina laulule ladusin, sanad mina viisile vedasin. Nüüd mina laulan linnu kieli, pajatelen pardi kieli, häälitse hanede viisi, tien aga häältä tetre viisi!	When I begin to sing, To sing, to recite poetry, The village begins to listen to me, The district begins to watch me. Where did this child get her songs, put the words to melodies? She went to Harju to learn them, To Viru to take the melody. I thought, and answered: I didn't go to Harju to learn, Nor to Viru to take the melodies. Good health to the mother who brought me to weddings who took me to marriages, held me to her bosom, carried me under her arm, There I added to my song, Put the words to melody. Now I sing in the language of birds, I quack like a duck, I speak like a hen, I make sounds like a grouse! <sup>43</sup>
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The archaic Estonian folksongs (regivärss) follow a traditional meter that is common to the folk poetry of several groups which speak Balto-Finnic languages (in Finland, it is called the "Kalevala meter"). The monophonic, repetitive melodies of regivärss songs lack

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<sup>43</sup> A variant of this song was published in the Baltica '92 festival songbook, Kuutma 1992: 9-11. See also Tedre 1969, Vol. 1: 107-111, Tampere 1965, Vol. 5: 42-44.



the dramatic effect of songs which are usually performed at international folklore festivals. It is the words of the songs, and the skill of lead singers in "putting words to melodies" which is valued most in Estonian folksong traditions; the texts are inaccessible to persons who do not understand Estonian. The average Estonian also does not enjoy this singing tradition, whose melodies seem monotonous and boring next to the cheerful or sentimental melodies of more recently created songs (the choir at the song festival sings folksongs arranged by composers in four-part harmonies). The Estonian folklore ensembles are attempting to transform the popular tastes of the Estonian public, by singing regivärss at public gatherings.

At the Baltica festival of 1992, many concerts were begun with the song which has become a motto of the Estonian folklore revival movement: "Sing as Long as You Live."<sup>44</sup> (The overlapping interchange between leader and group is the same as above, but the group usually does not stand in a ring):

Laula, laula, suukene,  
liigu, linnukeelekene,  
mõlgu, marjameelekene,  
ilutse, südamekene.  
Küll saad siis sa vaita olla,  
kui saad alla musta mulla,  
kena kirstu keske'elle,  
valge laudade vahele!

Sing, sing, my mouth,  
sing like a bird's tongue,  
be happy, my mind,  
be joyful, my heart.  
Soon enough you will become silent,  
when you pass under the black earth,  
into a pretty coffin,  
into a casket of white boards!

The words of the song, perhaps morbid to an American reader, are less about death than they are about life, referring, not only to the life of an individual person, but also that of a nation and of humans in general (Rüütel 1989b: 20).

After two days in the city, the Baltica festival diffused throughout Estonia, with smaller festivals taking place in eight districts. Participants and organizers agreed that these

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<sup>44</sup> The song was published in the festival songbook (Kuutma 1992: 6). See also the first page of the program from Baltica '89 (Kuutma 1989). The original field recording was published on the LP record, Eesti rahvalaule ja pillilugusid, Side 1 B, #V(a)1. See also Tedre 1969, Vol 1: 99, Tampere 1965, Vol 5: 39.

local celebrations were much more appropriate for folklore performances than the the stages and Old Town streets of Tallinn. I accompanied the members of the folklore ensemble Leegajus who travelled down to the southeastern corner of Estonia, Setumaa. The Setu, the ethnic group living in this district, have maintained unique traditions —religious (Russian Orthodox), linguistic, folklore, clothing— as a result of the district's geographical, economic, and cultural isolation. In recent times, the ethnographic ensembles of Setu women, wearing their large silver brooches and necklaces, perform often at folklore festivals. Their polyphonic singing is unlike any other traditions in the Baltic region: melodies in minor keys, unusual repetitions and refrains, and dissonance make this music seem particularly strange even to Estonians, who have for the most part become accustomed to the harmonies of classical choral music. The Setu singing, like other Baltic folk traditions, depends on the skill of individual lead singers whose words are repeated by the group, with one singer's voice rising an interval of a third or a second (one or two notes) above the group.

The old Setu singers who today perform with the ethnographic ensembles are masters of a disappearing art form: They can improvise songs about any topic, always remaining within the strict constraints of the poetic tradition. The Setu festival featured a contest in improvisation, in which singers were given topics a few minutes before they went on stage to perform. A member of the folklore ensemble with whom I travelled to this festival had been learning the Setu songs throughout the nearly two decades that she had been a member of the ensemble, and entered the contest. (The singer, Õie Sarv, herself is of Setu ancestry, though her family had moved to Tallinn before she was born). She drew "rain" as her assigned topic (the region had been hit by a lengthy drought), and sang, accompanied by her ensemble.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Performed at the Värskä Leelopäev folklore festival, July 18, 1992. Lead singer: Õie Sarv; group: Tuuli Tiivel (high harmony, or killõ singer), Liina Lahi, Kristin Kuutma, Veronika Tallo, Joel Sarv, Margus Rahuoja, Jaan Vahar, all of them members of the folklore ensemble, Leegajus. The

Each line was repeated by the group in a complex pattern typical of the Setu singing tradition.

The first line, "vihmakõnõ velekenene" ("dear rain, dear brother"), for example, was drawn out into a long series of elaborations and melodic variations:

(Leader): Vihmakõnõ jo sa velekenene jo,

(Group): jo, vai vihmakõnõ jo sa velekenene jo,  
vai vihmakõnõ velekenene vihmakõnõ jo,

The text of the song was rich in the "beginning rhyme" (algriim) — a combination of alliteration and assonance— which reveals the skill of a good singer:

Vihmakõnõ velekenene,	Dear rain, dear brother,
Saokõnõ sagarikku!	Falling one, coming in bursts,
Mille-ks taha-i sa meele tulla',	Why don't you want to come our way,
mille-ks taha-i sa meele veertä'?	Why don't you want to turn towards us?
Sinno-ks oodi mi mito päivä,	We have been waiting for you for many days,
oodi-ks nii oodi täämbä,	Waiting, waiting today,
oodi-ks kolmi kolmapäivä,	Waiting for three Wednesdays [literally, "thirddays"]
oodi-ks nelli neläpäivä,	Waiting for four Thursdays ["fourthdays"]
viis rikast riidetä,	For five rich Fridays
oodi-ks puul puulpäivä.	For a half Saturday ["halfday"].
Essukõnõ esäkene,	Dear Jesus, dear Jesus,
Pühamaar'a maamakõnõ!	Holy Mary, Mother!
Määnest pattu meil pandanõssõ,	For what sin is this placed upon us,
määnest süüdü meil süämellä?	For what fault are we punished?
Pallõ-ks sinno mi süämestä,	We pray to you from our hearts,
saada meele sa saokõnõ,	Send the falling one to us,
veerä meele sa vihmakõnõ.	Turn the rain towards us.

Sarv was awarded second place in the contest, a great honor and recognition that she could sing on an equal level with the singers from whom she had learned the art of Setu folk poetry. She herself did not brag about the feat: After twenty years of singing, she felt that she had only recently been learning improvisation well enough to enter a contest. The weight of responsibility lays heavily on her shoulders, for when the old singers pass away, there will be few women in her generation able to maintain the tradition.

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transcription of the song was given to me by the lead singer, Õie Sarv.

### Archaic Singing Traditions Today

In the Baltic, each festival performance of folksongs —sung in either choral or folk style— is a political event. Every song performed there, regardless of its text, acquires a political meaning which is explicit in the patriotic songs discussed above, but more subtle in folksongs with ambiguous texts. A folksong at a National Song Festival symbolizes the national culture which brought it to the festival stage. No such symbolism existed in the archaic singing traditions.

Gifted bearers of oral folksong traditions may still occasionally be found in the Baltic countryside (some of the more active singers have joined ethnographic ensembles), but the traditional singing contexts which they describe belong mostly to memory culture. Examples are given here from Latvia, where I had the best opportunities for fieldwork, but the prevalence of songs in all aspects of life, as recalled by rural Latvians, is characteristic also of preindustrial Lithuania and Estonia.<sup>46</sup> I first met and listened to singers who carried archaic, oral song traditions when I accompanied the Latvian ethnomusicologist, Mārtiņš Boiko, on fieldwork expeditions to Northeast Latvia and to a Latvian community on the Northern coast of Lithuania. Many of the songs which these women knew were once sung as an integral part of social customs.

Near Puncuļeva (a small town in northeastern Latvia), women remembered the talka of the pre-Soviet era, in which the community would gather to help individual homesteads quickly complete work requiring many hands.<sup>47</sup> The manure talka in early summer, for

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<sup>46</sup> Laugaste 1977: 129-130, Korsakas et al. 1963: 119-201, L. Sauka 1993: 89-140.

<sup>47</sup> The talka tradition is similar in Lithuania and Estonia, which even share the same word for the tradition (Estonian talgud and Lithuanian talka).

example, removed the manure which had collected throughout the winter in the livestock barn and carried it in wagons to the fields, where it was dispersed and plowed under; between loads, the women working in the fields would stand together, backs to the wind, and sing. Songs continued when the workers returned to the homestead at the end of the day, and were given food and drink by the owners of the fields. A singer from the volunteer workers would compliment and praise the mistress of the household with poetic simile, calling out in melody:<sup>48</sup>

Tolka nuoce sietiņēi,	The <u>talka</u> arrives in the homestead,
Kupla līpa vōrtus vēr’,	A beautiful linden tree comes to meet them,

(The group drones "ā-ā-ā" as the last line is repeated by the singer):

Kupla līpa vōrtus vēr’;	A beautiful linden tree comes to meet them;
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Once again, the singer calls out alone, and when she repeats the second line she is accompanied by the drone of the group:

Tei nabeja kupla līpa,	It’s not a beautiful linden tree,
Tei bej tolkas saimenīc’,	It’s the mistress of the <u>talka</u> ;
Tei bej tolkas saimenīc’.	It’s the mistress of the <u>talka</u> .

Gaidi, gaidi saimenīca,	Go out to receive them, mistress,
Nu nuoks tavi talcenīk’,	Your volunteer workers are coming,
Nu nuoks tavi talcenīk’:	Your volunteer workers are coming.

Nuoks arāji, kāpējīji,	The plowmen are coming, and the diggers,
Vuordietōjas, poveznīk’,	The manure spreaders, and the wagon drivers,
Vuordietōjas, poveznīk’.	The manure spreaders, and the wagon drivers.

Stanza after stanza could be added by the lead singer, or another leader would take over. The songs sometimes turned into friendly "wars" of song like the one which was reproduced on

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<sup>48</sup> The following text, separated by my comments, was sung near Punculeja on August 18, 1991, by Anna Mežale (born 1935), accompanied by Tekla Ločmele (b. 1925), Domicela Ločmele (b. 1918), and Domicela Streiča (b. 1925).

the Latvian Song Festival stage in 1990. A person from the homestead might spark off such a competition by singing, for example:

Tolka lyla, tolka moza,  
Tolka bādu padarej',  
Tolka bādu padarej':

A big talka, a small talka,  
It causes me great difficulties,  
It causes me great difficulties:

Daudz apiēde, daudz apdziēre,  
Moz darbiņa padarej',  
Moz darbiņa padarej'!

They eat a lot, they drink a lot,  
But they have worked very little,  
They have worked very little!

The singer might be answered, for example, with songs about the hard work that the volunteers had done, and the skimpy meal that the miserly mistress had prepared. The songs of the talka, and the improvised song battles, are only a small portion of the hundreds of songs known by the singers of Punculeva. On the expedition in Northeast Latvia, I listened to many different songs which the singers learned and sang frequently in their childhood—some associated with midwinter mumming customs, others from midsummer celebrations, and still more lyrical songs about love, courtship, and marriage.

On another expedition, across the southwestern border of Latvia near Šventoji, Lithuania, I met Latvian women who recalled the customs which occurred at the feast after a christening. A singer would lead songs to wish the baby a good life:<sup>49</sup>

To naksniņu negulēju,  
Kad kūmāsi riedījos:

I didn't sleep on the night before  
As I prepared for the Christening:

(The group would join in in unison, repeating the first half stanza):

To naksniņu negulēju,  
Kad kūmāsi riedījos:

I didn't sleep on the night before  
As I prepared for the Christening:

(The leader completes the stanza alone):

Villainītes balināju,  
Sudrabiņu spodrināju.

I whitened my shawls,  
And polished my silver.

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<sup>49</sup> The songs and traditions which appear here were sung and described by Kristīne Albuže (born 1921), near Šventoji, Lithuania, on July 4, 1991.

(The group again repeats the words, as they do after every half stanza):

Villainītes balināju,	I whitened my shawls,
Sudrabiņu spodrināju.	And polished my silver.

Some stanzas retain an echo of earlier magical beliefs:

Kūmāsi iedama kažokus vilku,	Going to the christening, I wore a sheepskin coat,
Lai auga pādītei villotas avis.	So that the godchild would have wooly sheep.

As in Puncuļeva, singers here also remembered a tradition of sparring with songs and wit.

Kristīne Albuže described such occasions, when a singer might call out, for example:

Dievs nedoda tādas kūmas,	God save us from godparents like these,
Kādas kūmas tam bērnam:	This child's godparents:
Izdeņ alu, saēd maizi,	They drink the beer, devour the bread,
Pādes vārda nezināj'!	But don't even know the child's name!
Kālabade mūs' pādīte	Why did the godchild
Šodien brēce baznīcā?	Cry in church today?
Vai vārdiņš tai netika,	Did she not like her name,
Vai netika nesējiņ'?	Or did she not like her carrier [godparent]?
Tai vārdiņš gan patika,	She did like the name,
Nesējiņa nepatika:	But she didn't like the carrier:
Nesējiņai melli krekli,	The carrier has a dirty shirt on,
Sapelēj'ši sudrabiņ'.	And tarnished silver [jewelry].

Mrs. Albuže commented, "This is how the godparents are teased in song. And then, if she wants to fight back, then the godparent sings":<sup>50</sup>

Dieviņš mane pādi deva	God gave me a godchild
Pašā darba laiciņā;	At the time when work had to be done;
Plānā dūru grābeklīti,	I stuck my rake into the ground,
Gāju pādi apraudzīt; —	And went to visit the godchild; —
Tālab bija melli krekli,	This is why the shirt is dirty,
Sapelēj'ši sudrabiņ!	And the silver is tarnished.

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<sup>50</sup> "Tā apdzied to kūmu. Un tad atkal, ja tā kūma grib atturēties pretim, tad tā kūma dzied:"

She commented also on the knowledge needed for singing: "The godparent answers— if it is a person who knows how. And if she doesn't, then she just stands there, mouth agape!"<sup>51</sup>

In the folk singing traditions of the three Baltic nations, melodies and harmonies vary from song to song, and from ethnographic region to region. The drone accompaniment present in some songs of northeastern Latvia is known only in one other small district of Latvia, and in historical ethnographic records from southern Estonia. Singing in unison was typical in some areas or songs, while others favored two-part harmony; some situations depended on call-response performance led by singers skilled in improvisation, while others required that the group know and sing the entire text; in still other songs, an individual voice stood out only at the beginning of stanzas, setting the tone of the song for the others who immediately joined in. All of these communal singing traditions, however, depended on oral tradition, and the memories and improvisational skills of individual singers.<sup>52</sup>

The competitive singing (apdziedāšanās) described by rural Latvian singers gives a particularly good example of the archaic singing traditions as a whole. This genre of song depended entirely on the situation in which it was performed. Singers adapted and improvised texts to suit the persons at whom they were singing, and the objects of their laughter were required to immediately answer to the texts which had been sung. All other songs in an individual's active repertoire also reflected the situation in which they emerged—the personality of the singer, his or her life's experiences, the community and daily life which

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<sup>51</sup> "Tad tā kūma atkal atdzied— Cita, kas māc. Un ja nemāk, tad paliek, muti papletusi!"

<sup>52</sup> Very few publications of any kind appeared in the Baltic languages until the second half of the nineteenth century, when the first books of folksongs for popular consumption appeared. These books did not include the texts which were most frequently sung at work and in traditional calendar customs or rites of passage. Unlike ballads and church songs, which were printed in broadsides and songbooks, most of the countless lyrical folksongs which permeated Baltic folklife were set in writing for the first time when folklore fieldworkers collected them; they were usually published in scholarly collections which were not used in popular singing.



surrounded the singing. Songs and singing were a means of self-expression and of customary artistic communication in small groups, but they were not self-conscious symbols of art as a whole, or representations of national and ethnic identity. These meanings were first attached to the songs during the romantic movements of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Many archaic singing traditions were not capable of transforming and surviving even in fragmentary form in the modern world, even less so in the totalitarian Soviet state. Farming communities were broken in the late forties by deportations and collectivization of agriculture, and the traditional communal work customs were abandoned along with their songs. Religious traditions, already weakening in rural areas before the Soviet period, were now officially repressed, and although some parents still quietly Christened their children in church, they didn't dare hold the large feasts of celebration which had once been traditional. The singers whom I met in 1991 during the fieldwork expeditions recalled that the last occasions for the singing traditions which they described took place in the mid-forties. Subsequent generations no longer knew or needed to maintain the traditions. Mrs. Albuže commented,

Nowadays there is no longer anything. The Christenings are not as large, and the young people— young people nowadays are drunks, nothing comes of them. They don't have songs, or anything else.... But in the olden times, yes, that was something! I don't remember as much, either. But my old uncles and aunts, they said that, oh! —the ceremonies that they had in the olden times! It was interesting! Now there is no longer anything as interesting as that....

Archaic song traditions have been disappearing in the Baltic throughout the past century, as modernization and urbanization has been uprooting and transforming the rural communities which maintained the traditions. The final blows to communal folklore traditions were dealt by the Soviet order, which erased existing social groupings —not only villages, but

also religious congregations, cultural societies, and farming cooperatives— and established a uniform, centrally administered system of collective agriculture based on payment in kind or on wage labor. Group singing traditions were channelled into schools, choirs, and other organizations which could be controlled more efficiently and censored from above. The older generations passed away, and new ones grew up in Soviet culture, never acquiring the folklore which had been an active part of rural life only a few decades before. The planned eradication of historical memory, and suppression of groups or group traditions outside of government control, proceeded with even greater intensity in Soviet cities, where the official propaganda trumpeted the great achievements of the Soviet state. This was the context in which the folklore revival movement began in the late sixties, when the urban youth travelled into the countryside to relearn the singing traditions preserved in the memory of the older generations.

### Two Baltic Folklorisms

On the final day of the Baltica '92 festival, the participants returned to Tallinn for the closing concert and evening of dancing. A heavy downpour of rain drove the public away from the open-air stage at Harku-Järve Park, and the performers squeezed into a hall where they performed for each other. The cheerful, relaxed ending of this international festival was in many ways typical of folklore festivals throughout the Baltic: Emphasis is placed on performances in small groups, and on breaking down the barriers that usually exist between audience and performer. Many such informal occasions for people to meet also took place at the National Song Festivals and National Dance Festivals, though the repertoires of dances and songs were different (a favorite dance at the Latvian Song Festival ball was the

"Lambada"). Both the folklore festivals and song festivals alternate between staged displays of culture, and informal entertainment for the festival participants.

Both kinds of festivals — National Song Festivals and folklore festivals— place archaic folksong texts in a prominent place in their programs. At both festivals, folksongs are taken from their original (and rapidly disappearing) rural context and are given a "second life" in modern urbanized culture. Both festivals are "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), and both use folksongs to create imagined ties to an archaic, distant past. Folklore is seen as belonging to a venerable heritage which must be maintained in the present for the future.

The broad term, "folklorism," applies to the performance of folklore at both festivals, but this chapter has distinguished the folklorism of choirs from that of the folklore ensembles. What appears to be a single process of folksong performance in contexts foreign to the original source traditions, is a result of two very different singing traditions. Insiders in the cultures agree that the folklorism of folklore festivals originated and developed in opposition to the officially-cultivated folklorism of Soviet propaganda and the Song Festivals. The following two chapters will survey this recent development in the Baltic cultures.

## PHOTOGRAPHS, CHAPTER ONE



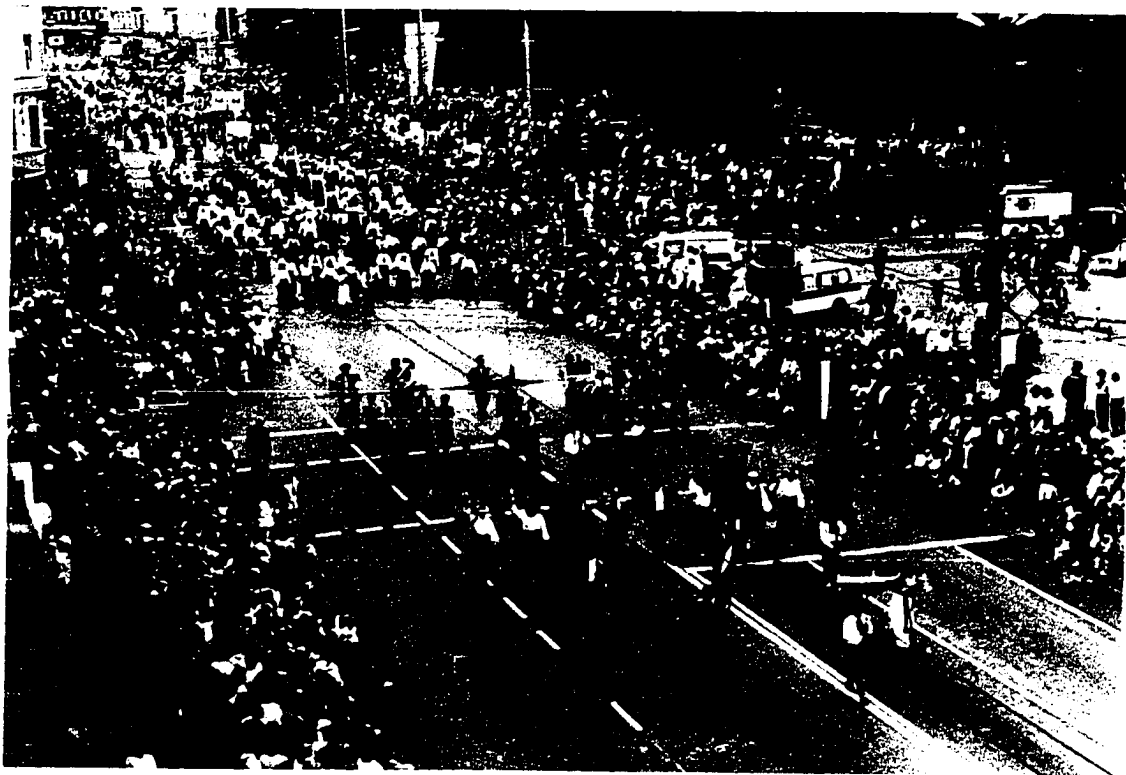
1. Herder Monument, Old Town Riga, Latvia. Erected in 1864, on the centennial of Herder's arrival in Riga.



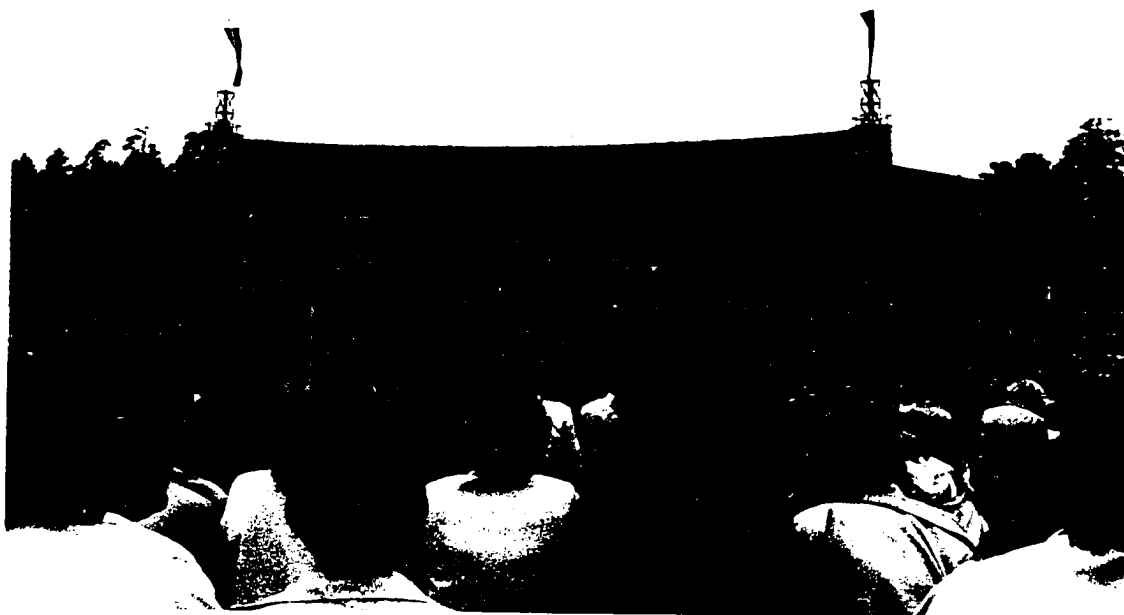
2. Head of the Estonian Song Festival procession, Tallinn, 30 June 1990.



3. Estonian Song Festival, Tallinn, Estonia, 30 June 1990. Note conductor, dressed in white, standing on conductor's stage in front of the choir.



4. Latvian Song Festival procession, crossing of Brīvības and Miera Streets, Rīga, Latvia, 7 July 1990.



5. Latvian Song Festival stage, 5 July 1990.



6. *Skandinieki* at the Day of Folklore, Open Air Ethnographic Museum, Rīga, Latvia, 6 July 1990. Helmī Stalte is fourth from the left.



7. Dancing at *Skandinieki* performance, 6 July 1990.



8. *Ratilio* at concert for ambassadors and foreign visitors, *Skamba, skamba kankliai* Folklore Festival, 31 May 1992. Playing the shepherd's horn is Antanas Fokas, instrumental group leader.



9. *Leegajus* members at Setu Leelopäev, Värskä, Estonia, 18 July 1992. In the center is lead singer Õie Sarv.





10. Kristīne Albuže.  
Expedition 4 July 1992, in  
Sventaja (Šventoji, Lithuania).

11. Folksong expedition in  
Puncuļeva, Latvia, Mālišu  
farmstead, 18 August 1991.  
From left: Anna Mežale,  
Domicela Streiča, Domicela  
Ločmele, Tekla Ločmele. Far  
right: musicologist Mārtiņš  
Boiko, leader of the  
expedition.



## CHAPTER TWO

### SONGS AND SINGING IN BALTIC NATIONAL CULTURES

Songs —folksongs, national songs, poetry— helped sustain the national movements of 19th century Europe. The ideas of Rousseau, Percy, Herder, and others were realized in practice by national activists who established traditions of collecting, selecting, compiling, interpreting, comparing, and refining the songs which became national symbols. Songs in written works of literature and musical performances subsequently folklorized, becoming part of the national culture.

A model approach to the songs of the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, which was followed by generations of German as well as Baltic scholars, was presented in the work of Johann Gottfried Herder in his two volumes of Volkslieder (1778-1779).<sup>1</sup> It was Herder who marvelled at the original beauty of songs sung by uncivilized peasants, raising these songs to the status of poetry, and it was Herder who associated these songs with radical social change, calling for the emancipation of the Baltic serfs and the restoration of the rights which had been taken from them in the Crusades of the 13th century. After Herder, the study, publication, and performance of folksongs was always a political act in the Baltic.

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<sup>1</sup> Herder 1967-1968 (henceforth SW), Vol. XXV, pp. 127-546. Other selections of Baltic songs were included in the unpublished Alte Volkslieder (SW, XXV: 1-126), and in the collection prepared after Herder's death from his papers by his wife, Caroline Herder, and Johannes Müller, published as Stimmen der Völker in Liedern in 1807.

Herder quoted contemporary ethnographic reports describing the traditional performance of Estonian and Latvian folksongs.<sup>2</sup> The call-response performance style described in the Volkslieder, for example, has been repeatedly observed and recorded in Estonian (as well as Latvian) rural communities, and the Latvian tradition of droning (vilkšana), in which a single sound (ā, ē) is droned while one or two lead singers chant song texts, has also continued in some regions of Latvia from Herder's day to the present. Neither one of these forms of traditional singing acquired popular significance in the Latvian or Estonian national movements until the 1960's and 1970's, when folklore ensembles like those described in Chapter One placed the rural singing style on stage as a weapon in defense of the three national cultures. Before the folklore movement, the central place in the national symbolism of song was occupied by other traditions.

This chapter surveys the use of folksongs in displays of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian national cultures up to the beginning of the folklore movement, which will be examined in Chapter Three. The chapter begins with Herder's Volkslieder, in which the national symbolism of Baltic folksongs was established. Folk poetry as a source and expression of national history occupied the founders of the Baltic national historical and literary traditions, leading to the creation of national epics purportedly based on folklore and folksongs. The rhetoric of poets also contributed to the rapid spread of singing traditions in choirs and schools, culminating in the national song festivals which today continue to be a major symbol of cultural achievement and national worth. All of these symbolic traditions contributed models of folk poetry which were recalled or challenged, maintained or

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<sup>2</sup> The Estonians "all sing only in unison, but usually in 2 choirs, so that every line sung by one group is repeated by the other"; the Latvians "choose one or two maidens who sing the text, and the remaining people maintain only a single tone, somewhat like the bass note of a bagpipe" (SW, XXV: 392, 394).

transformed in the folksong revival of the late 20th century. This chapter traces the origins of the various ways in which folksongs were seen as symbols of the nation: songs as the poetic heritage of a nation, songs as validation of a nation's right to exist, songs as preservers of ancient history, and songs performed on stage as the living voice of the nation. The latter symbolism was used in the service of both nationalist and Stalinist ideologies, and, during the Soviet period, this double meaning determined the mass popularity of choral singing traditions.

### The Model of Herder's Volkslieder

The history of nationalism is the history of a continually transforming phenomenon. Throughout the past two centuries, leaders of national movements selected and adapted models of the nation and national activism from various earlier political and cultural movements, and created, in turn, new models to be copied and developed by subsequent activists (Greenfeld 1992: 5-6, Anderson 1991: 80-82, 139-140). For the builders of the three Baltic national cultures and the social movements which they led, such a model was offered by Herder and his rhetorical use of folksongs in arguments about history and the destiny of humankind. It was Herder who had demonstrated in his Volkslieder that Baltic folk poetry had value among the poetries of the world, and that the Baltic nations therefore had an honorable place among the nations of the world. It was Herder who first used songs in arguments for social and cultural change in the Baltic.

Among the songs of the nineteen nations represented in Herder's collection are eight Lithuanian, three Estonian, and two Latvian songs.<sup>3</sup> For Herder, the songs of the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians<sup>4</sup> represented living poetry, identical in its functions to the songs created by the bards of classical antiquity. Estonian and Lithuanian wedding songs are clustered with a Greek wedding song, for example, and "Fragments of Greek Songs" are immediately followed by "Fragments of Latvian Songs."<sup>5</sup> In the Baltic songs, Herder saw the poetry of nations which were close to nature and unfettered by the repressive norms of modern society, poetry that could inspire and revive his own German culture. Lithuanian songs also represented a link to a more recent historical period relevant to Herder: The Lithuanians spoke a language similar to Old Prussian, an extinct language known to have once been spoken in the region of Herder's birthplace, Mohrungen.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The following songs from the Baltic nations appear in the Volkslieder (for brevity, only Herder's titles are given here, although some titles include several songs; page numbers refer to SW, XXV): Estonian: "Einige Hochzeitlieder" (399-401), "Klage über die Tyrannen der Leibeignen" (401-403), and "Lied vom Kriege" (496-498). Latvian: "Fragmente lettischer Lieder" (409-411), and "Frühlingslied" (411-412). Lithuanian: "Die kranke Braut" (143-144), "Abschiedslied eines Mädchens" (144-145), "Der versunkene Brautring" (145-146), "Lied des Mädchens um ihren Garten" (186), "Lied des jungen Reiters" (187-188), "Der unglückliche Weidenbaum" (188-189), "Die erste Bekanntschaft" (242), and "Brautlied" (404-405). An Estonian song, "Jõrru, Jõrru," and a Latvian song, "Es pa zellu raudadams," are quoted within prose descriptions of the song traditions (391, 394). See also "Lettisches Singe," in Herder's first, unpublished folk song collection of 1774 (91), and Herder's manuscripts left unpublished during his lifetime: "Der Hagestolze" (589-590), and "Schmeichellied auf die Herrschaft" (579-580; cf Irmscher 1979: 75-58). Other nations or languages represented in the Volkslieder include: German (37 songs), English (35 songs), Spanish (18 songs), Scottish (14 songs), Norse/Scaldic (10 songs); Greek (6 songs); French (5 songs); Danish, Morlackian (=Croatian), and Latin (4 songs each); Gaelic ("Ossian") and Italian (3 songs each); Lapp (=Sámi; 2 songs); Greenlandic (=Inuit), Peruvian (=Inca), and Wendish (one song each).

<sup>4</sup> The songs of the Lapps and Greenlanders (Sámi and Inuit), which Herder grouped together with the three Baltic nations, are not examined here.

<sup>5</sup> Herder probably took these associations from his mentor, Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788), whose Kreuzzüge eines Philologen (1762) he quotes in the Volkslieder, comparing "Homer's monotone meter" to the work songs of Latvian peasants (SW, XXV: 299).

<sup>6</sup> Presently named Morąg, Poland, and located sixty miles Southwest of Königsberg (Kaliningrad). J. Gottlieb Kreutzfeld, who sent Herder translations of Lithuanian folksongs, wrote in 1775 that he would have gladly liked to publish poetry of the heathen Old Prussians, but "the last

In the Baltic Provinces of the Russian Empire,<sup>7</sup> among Herder's German compatriots, the publication of songs collected from Baltic peasants placed in question the foundations of the local social structures. By publishing the poetry of seemingly uncultured serfs next to the creations of Shakespeare, Sappho, and German folk poets, Herder declared that the peasants and their oral literatures were equal to the most illustrious artists and art of the great nations of the world. Such ideas found both avid supporters and avowed enemies in the Baltic Provinces and Rīga, where Herder had lived and worked from 1764 to 1769.

The eighteenth-century Enlightenment raised issues directly related to the way of life of the German society which surrounded Herder in Rīga, a society which may be defined both as an ethnic group and a ruling social class. The Baltic Germans were descendants of the German-speaking crusaders and merchants who had conquered the ancestors of the Estonians and Latvians in the 13th century, and they had maintained local autonomy under many governments, most recently as a part of the Russian empire. Since the conquest, the indigenous population had been gradually pushed into serfdom, an institution which was actively debated in the circles where Herder was a frequent guest. In the absence of strict government censorship, eloquent voices for emancipation emerged among the German intelligentsia (Stavenhagen 1925). This was a land of contradictions: It was, as Herder wrote after his departure, a "province of barbarism and luxury," a place of intellectual freedom for

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traces of the Prussian language disappeared already a century ago. One may hope to recognize in Lithuanian the sister of the extinct language.... So the Lithuanian dainos are our land's sole existing fragments of national heritage [Nationalstücke]" (Müller 1917: 184).

<sup>7</sup> "Baltic Provinces" of Herder's day (and up to 1918) were not considered to include Lithuania. The term applied to the Estland, Kurland (occasionally spelled "Curland" or "Courland"), and Lifland ("Liefland," "Livonia") provinces of the Russian Empire, which were ruled by a largely autonomous German nobility. The indigenous population here was Latvian, Livonian, and Estonian. The Enlightenment, along with the subsequent abolition of serfdom, arrived in the Baltic Provinces earlier than elsewhere in the Russian Empire.

Germans, but slavery for Latvians.<sup>8</sup> Herder and his enlightened peers argued for the emancipation of the Latvian serfs (Iankelovich 1970: 71-73; cf. Emmerich 1971: 32).

This feudal society had produced an Estonian folksong which Herder published. He gave the song the title, "Lament about the Tyrants of the Serfs," and noted that it was "not a result of poetic imagination, but rather, it arose from the actual experience of a suffering nation" (SW, XXV: 537):

The poor peasants by the posts  
Are whipped bloody.  
The poor peasants in irons,  
Men rattling in chains,  
Women beaten in front of the door...

Our hens lay eggs  
All for the German bowl:  
The little sheep gives a spotted lamb,  
It is also for the German's roasting-spit.  
Our cow gives its first little ox,  
It is also for the German's fields.  
The horse gives a sprightly foal;  
It is also for the German's sleigh,  
A mother has an only son,  
He is also for the German's whipping-post... (SW, XXV: 401-403)<sup>9</sup>

"Tyrants" are not mentioned in the text sent to Herder by August Hupel, who translated the song and gave it the title, "Lied, darin sehr über die sklaverrey geklagt wird" ("A song in which slavery is greatly lamented"). Herder and his translator incorrectly

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<sup>8</sup> "Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1789" (Herder 1967, IV: 362) (English translation in Herder 1969: 88). See also Herder's quote of T. G. von Hippel (1741-1796) in Volkslieder: "Kurland is home to both slavery and freedom" (SW, XXV: 396).

<sup>9</sup> Herder noted that "a shorter text would surely be more beautiful," but chose to publish the entire song to avoid misrepresentation of the folk tradition. Herder omitted line 15 from the text sent to him, "Der Ferkel grunzt in der Schürze," ("The piglet grunts in her apron"), perhaps for esthetic reasons (cf. note from Herder's manuscripts, SW, XXV: 402). The song, usually titled "Mõisast pääsmine" ("Escape from the Estate"), is well known in Estonian oral tradition, and has been recorded in numerous variants throughout Estonia (Laugaste 1983).

assumed that the song was about Germans as a nation, and Herder chose his title with the intention of presenting his compatriots as shameful tyrants in the Baltic.<sup>10</sup> Later, in his Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind (1791), Herder addressed the Baltic Germans more directly:

Perhaps centuries will pass before [the yoke of servitude] is removed from them [the Latvians and Estonians], and as compensation for the abominations through which these peaceful nations were robbed of their land and their freedom, they will, out of humanity, once again be given freedom for their enjoyment and productive use [SW, XIV: 270].<sup>11</sup>

Herder was guided in his convictions by both intellect and intuition. The rational thought of the French Enlightenment produced beliefs in the equality of men and in the injustice of serfdom. Equal in importance was the aesthetic joy of listening to folk poetry, which led Herder to the ideas that were developed throughout the nineteenth century in opposition to the Enlightenment. During a brief vacation on the outskirts of Riga, Herder saw, for the first time in his life, a flourishing folksong tradition, which he recalled in 1771, (after he had departed from the Baltic city), "You must know that I myself have had the opportunity to observe the living remnants of ancient songs, rhythms, and dances in living nations..." In that essay, Herder pointed out that the genesis of his enthusiasm for the songs

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<sup>10</sup> In the songs and language of the Estonian peasants at the time, the word saks was a synonym for "master" on the estate, and did not denote all Germans as a nation (Kahk 1985: 15). Hupel seems to have been unsure which word to use in his translation; like other Baltic Germans, he misunderstood the word's meaning, and defined it for Herder as a word with primary connotations of ethnicity: "German, here as usual it means the masters of the estate" (Acht alte estnische... 1896: 256).

<sup>11</sup> In his unpublished notes Herder added, "But alas, how deeply subjugated are the inhabitants and ancient rightful owners of the land! Is there any accessible land in Europe where the Germans—at times as merchants, at times as noble warriors, at times as crusaders— have not committed abominations?" (SW, XIV: 270).



of wild<sup>12</sup> nations, and specifically about Ossian, did not lay in the books which he read in his library, for then his ideas would be "delusion, a mere apparition appearing before me" (SW, V: 170).

Herder's inspiration came at a moment when he left the armchair and entered the field: It is thought that he witnessed a Latvian celebration of the summer solstice, with the great traditional bonfire, colorful native dress, and above all, an endless chain of poetry sung by the peasants who had gathered to celebrate.<sup>13</sup> These were nations, wrote Herder, "from whom our traditions have not yet been able to take their language, songs, and customs, giving in return something disfigured or nothing at all." Herder continued, "What would these nations gain, if they were to exchange their songs for a crippled minuet or minuet-like rhymes?" (SW, V: 170).<sup>14</sup> In the introductory pages of Volkslieder, Herder quoted Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), who had written about Lithuanian folksongs, to emphasize the equal value of all human poetic expression, whether written or not:

You should learn... that under every part of the Heavens, poets are born, and that lively sensations are not the sole privilege of civilized nations [SW, XXV: 132; Lessing 1955: 178-179].

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<sup>12</sup> The German word, wild, is often translated as "primitive," losing some of the connotations intended by Herder. In his "Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker," Herder defined wild as "living, freely existing": "Wissen sie also, daß, je wilder, d.h. je lebendiger, je freiwirkender ein Volk ist, (denn mehr heißt dies Wort nicht!) desto wilder, d.i. desto lebendiger, freier, sinnlicher, lyrisch handelnder müssen auch, wenn es Lieder hat, seine Lieder sein!" (SW, V: 164).

<sup>13</sup> Although it is known that Herder heard Latvian folk songs several times, only indirect evidence exists that Herder saw a Midsummer's celebration. Most historians, following Stavenhagen 1925, assume this was the case (Johansons 1975: 417-418). It is known that Herder was vacationing on a summer estate by Juglas Lake (Jagelsee), near Riga, in June of 1765, when the traditional celebration was probably held by the local peasants (Arbusow 1953: 140).

<sup>14</sup> In "On the Similarity of English and German Poetry" (1777), Herder had criticized the Germans of his day, who "sing French songs" and "dance French minuets," or mimic the styles of classical antiquity (SW, IX: 530). As the passage quoted here shows, Herder's crusade against French culture was not simply the defensive reaction of a German patriot, but rather, a broad defense of any nation threatened by cultural imperialism.

A fascination and love for poets of all nations was the basis of Herder's work on the Volkslieder. The essential notion of folksong was revealed to Herder while he resided in Riga, but the idea of compiling, translating, and publishing such songs came to him a half-decade later, when he was living in Weimar. Herder's work was copied and developed by folksong enthusiasts throughout Europe.

### The Herderian Legacy

In the closing pages of Volkslieder, Herder wrote, "I could be very eloquent in chattering about the use of this work, how the few withered branches of our poetry could draw refreshment out of these humble dewdrops from foreign clouds. I leave this to the reader and pupil, who may desire to employ and make use of my efforts, the happiness and amusement of earlier, lonelier, and bygone years."<sup>15</sup> The impact of Herder's work on German culture is well known: Poets, inspired by his readings and translations of Shakespeare, Ossian, and folksongs, and by ideas of poetry which was simple and close to nature, set out to write what became masterpieces of German literature. German scholars devoted themselves to the collection and study of German folk poetry, turning also to research on language, folktales, and pre-Christian mythology, in the process establishing the basic methods of research used in international folklore scholarship. Another outcome of the

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<sup>15</sup> "Sodann glaube ich nicht, daß Ein völlig unmerkwürdiges Stück hier vorkommt, und ich könnte sehr beredt seyn, wenn ich von dem Nutzen schwätzen wollte, den manche verdorrte Zweige unsrer Poesie aus diesen unansehnlichen Thautropfen fremder himmelswolken ziehen könnten. Ich überlasse dies aber dem Leser und Lehrlinge, der meine Mühe, die Lust und Zerstreuung früher, einsamer und vergangner Jahre, zu nutzen und anzuwenden begehret." (SW, XXV: 545). The greatest influence of Volkslieder was not felt immediately after the books were published, but rather, after the literary scholar A. W. Schlegel began noting their significance in lectures in 1803-1804 (Gaier 1990: 907).

German love for folksongs was a widespread movement to enact the songs in performance: The German tradition of secular choral music grew to mass proportions by the mid-19th century (Düding 1987, Düding et al. 1988: 67-88, 166-190).

A truly Herderian tradition continued in the Baltic, where Herder's elevation of the native folksongs complemented local arguments for the emancipation of the serfs, forcefully expressed by such Germans as Garlieb Merkel (1769-1850) and Johann C. Petri (1762-1851). The Latvian and Estonian serfs were granted liberty a decade and a half after Herder's death in 1803, while the Lithuanians waited until 1861 for their emancipation.<sup>16</sup> Herder's requests for songs spurred the interest of several Baltic Germans, who continued to collect and study the songs well into the 19th century.<sup>17</sup>

Kurt Stavenhagen (1925) has declared that Herder became "Herderian" in Riga. Herder's encounter with the Latvian peasants yielded the synthesis of two powerful ideas: that the bane of the modern world is the subjugation of weak nations to strong ones, and that the culture of these subjugated nations possesses value for all of humanity. Herder's song collections gave voice to these powerless nations. Just as Herder received inspiration in the Baltic, so also the history of the Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians was permanently transformed when they and their songs were included in the Volkslieder.

The works of Herder, Merkel, Petri, and other Germans—including the Volkslieder, numerous studies of Baltic mythology (replete with the fantastic inventions of the authors), and lamentations over the enslavement of the Baltic peasants—were read, quoted, and

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<sup>16</sup> Serfdom was abolished in Estland Province in 1816, Kurland in 1817, and Lifland in 1819. A relatively small portion of today's Lithuania, Suvalkija, was emancipated in 1807.

<sup>17</sup> Ludis Bērziņš writes that "respect for the nation's language and folklore began in these circles independently of Herder, and possibly even inspired Herder. But to Herder belongs the undoubtable credit of uniting the small streams of enthusiastic humanist spirit into a powerful current of humanism" (1933:126).

continued by the founding fathers of Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian folkloristics. They, too, came to believe that their national cultures should not be dominated by those of the Germans, Poles, or Russians. Poetry and song —perceived to have brought the three nations to the world's attention and thus objects of national pride— continued to be evoked as weapons in the battle for national culture in the Baltic, in a modern-day continuation of Herder's "nonaggressive nationalism," as Isaiah Berlin has termed it (Gardels 1991: 19). Following what Orvar Löfgren (1989:9, 22) calls the international "checklists" for national culture presented by other European nation-builders, Baltic nationalists collected and published songs from oral tradition, wrote national epics and constructed national mythology based on folklore, and finally, established mass choral traditions which still flourish today.

The Herderian legacy in Baltic culture is twofold. First, since Herder's day, folk songs have been explicitly tied to politics, and have been used often as a vehicle for protesting national injustice and declaring cultural wealth. This ideological use of folklore inherited from the Volkslieder has been recognized often in national histories and international folklore historiography. The second half of the Herderian tradition is usually left unmentioned or misunderstood in scholarly histories of nationalism, although its effect on the lives of Herder and many nationalists after him is unmistakable: Herder's aesthetic joy upon discovering original poetic traditions was contagious. The nineteenth century national activists, and the thousands of singers in patriotic choirs were not dry ideologues exploiting folklore for their own political advancement. Their creative excitement, and delight in the beauty of the language and poetry they encountered and performed, is characteristic of popular nationalism in the nineteenth century. Without art, the political movements would have lost a solid foundation among the general public. Aesthetic pleasure, and not rational ideology, caused

some nationalists to choose poetic meters as a form in which national history could be presented.

### Epics and the Search for National History

After the songs of Ossian were published by James Macpherson, a feverish search for national epics captured the imagination of European intellectuals. Epic fever spread to the Baltic as well, but there it was not initiated by native Estonian, Latvian, or Lithuanian activists. During the last decades of the 18th century, Baltic German antiquarians delved into the history of the Latvians before the 13th-century Christian conquest. The search for a heroic national past began with attempts to discredit the institution of serfdom. In his Volkslieder, Herder quoted scholarly conjectures that the Latvians were a peaceful, pastoral nation with no heroic songs of war (SW, XXV: 396). Herder's thoughts on the matter were later discussed by Garlieb Merkel, who argued that the Latvians had once had heroic songs, but had lost them under the yoke of slavery. At any rate, no such songs could be found on the lips of the peasants, and German authors turned to other sources —chronicles written during the conquest— to rewrite the region's history from the point of view of the indigenous people. Thus Merkel wrote histories of the Latvians and Estonians which were, in fact, scathing attacks on the Baltic Germans of his day,<sup>18</sup> and composed the heroic legend of "Wanem Ymanta," a Latvian<sup>19</sup> leader during the Baltic crusade. Based in part on chronicle

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<sup>18</sup> Die Letten, vorzüglich in Liefland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts (1796), Die Vorzeit Lieflands (1798-1799), Die freien Letten und Esten (1820).

<sup>19</sup> In the chronicle accounts, Imants was a Livonian chieftain.

accounts, Merkel's story (published in 1802) portrays the invading Germans as ruthless villains, and the Latvians as a peaceful nation, living close to nature.

Merkel formulated history to serve the present: In the story, Ymanta has an allegorical vision in which he meets the future rulers of his enslaved nation: Gustav Adolph of Sweden and Catherine the Great of Russia are unable to free the Latvians of their feudal masters; Ymanta then appeals to Alexander I (Tsar of Russia at the time of publication) to liberate the serfs. Merkel's epic, written for the Baltic German public, furthered the cause of emancipation. Later in the 19th century, Wanem Ymanta was also read by the newly educated leaders of the Latvian national movement, and reworked numerous times by Latvian poets (Jansons 1972, Rozenbergs 1977).<sup>20</sup> The battle against serfdom transformed into a battle to renew the national culture which serfdom was thought to have destroyed. Calls were made for modern-day poets to create the historical folksongs which had been lost.

As in many other European cultures, the wish for a national Estonian history was accompanied by a desire for a heroic poem to express that history. At a meeting of the Estonian Learned Society in 1839, the German doctor and journalist Schultz-Bertram (1808-1875) described the goal to be followed in Estonia:

How must our Society further most successfully the enlightenment and the spiritual renaissance of the people liberated from serfdom? ... I think, by two things: let us give the people an epic and a history, and all is won [quoted from Oinas 1985: 59-60].

In that same year, Friedrich Robert Faehlmann (1798-1850) began compiling and reworking Estonian folk legends about a giant named Kalev or Kalevipoeg (Kalev's son) who was said to have left footprints in stone, cleared forests and plowed the land, and defeated the devil

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<sup>20</sup> Wanem Ymanta directly influenced such works as the poem, "Imanta" (1874) by Andrejs Pumpurs, F. Brīvzemnieks's "Krīvu krīvs" (1885), "Imanta un Aijita" by Sudrabu Edžus, Ā. Alunāns's drama, "Mūsu senči" (1890), and the unfinished play, "Imanta," by Rainis (Čakars, Grigulis, and Losberga 1990: 106).

himself. After Faehlmann's death in 1850, his work was taken over by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803-1882). Kalevipoeg was originally a prose narrative, like the legends upon which it was based; later, however, Kreutzwald decided to follow the example of the Finnish Kalevala and rewrite Faehlmann's story in the poetic style of Estonian folksongs (Oinas 1985: 53-54). The first lines of the epic, composed by Kreutzwald, reveal that he had assumed the role of the ancient bards as the folk poet of the Estonian nation:

Vanemuine,<sup>21</sup> lend me your lyre,  
A sweet song is stirring my senses  
And I long to unfold in song  
the legacy of ancient ages... [Kreutzwald 1982: 3].

Immediately after its publication by the Estonian Learned Society (1857-1861; a popular edition in one volume was printed in 1862), sharp debates began over the work's authenticity as a "folk" epic. Because Kreutzwald had not concealed the fact that he had rewritten prose narratives in poetic form, the debates soon subsided, and the 20-part poem, Kalevipoeg, was recognized as the epic of the Estonian nation.

Numerous attempts were made in the second half of the 19th century to write a Latvian epic.<sup>22</sup> In 1860, J. Zvaigznīte called to his countrymen,

Latvians, where have you put your songs, where are the graves in  
which you buried them? Did you not have men whom you could praise in  
song? Did they not do feats which their children's children could express in  
song? [quoted in Čakars et al. 1990: 314].

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<sup>21</sup> Vanemuine— Estonian god of song, invented (on the model of the Finnish national hero Väinämöinen) by the Estonian romantics, subsequently became a central figure in modern-day Estonian national mythology (Viires 1989).

<sup>22</sup> Among them, "Staburags un Liesma" (1869) and "Sēris un Nāra" (1886), by F. Mälbergs; "Zalkša līgava" (1880), "Dievs un velns" (1885), and "Niedrīšu Vidvuds" (1891), by J. Lautenbachs (Čakars, Grigulis, and Losberga 1990: 314).

His call was answered by Andrejs Pumpurs (1841-1902), who published the epic of Lāčplēsis ("Bearslayer") in 1888. The epic was a synthesis of accounts from historical chronicles and folk legends, and was influenced by Pumpurs's readings of the Finnish Kalevala, the Estonian Kalevipoeg, and the Greek Illiad and Odyssey. Criticized for the epic's weak ties to Latvian folk tradition, Pumpurs answered that he did not consider the poem to be the conclusive version of the Latvian national epic:

Until the time when we discover a Firduzi, who compiled all of the ancient folk heritage of the Persians and revived, so to say, the millenium-old folk religion through his beautiful folk epic, could we not begin with something smaller, for example, Lāčplēsis? [Pumpurs 1988:261].

At the time when Kalevipoeg and Lāčplēsis were published, most Lithuanians were only emerging from serfdom. The Lithuanian national movement began in the 1880's outside of Imperial Russia, in East Prussia, and gradually spread to Lithuania proper only at the end of the 19th century. By this time, the international excitement over epic poetry had subsided, and attempts to write such a work<sup>23</sup> were not greeted with enthusiasm like that bestowed upon the Estonian and Latvian poems. Regardless of the limited interest in epic poetry, there was still a desire for a national history, and for works of literature which glorified that history, to assert the worth of modern Lithuanians and their language (Like German in Estonia and Latvia, Polish was the language of the educated upper classes in Lithuania). Unlike the Estonians and Latvians, the Lithuanians did not suffer from a shortage of historical records of a great past: The feats of dukes Mindaugas, Vytautas, and others who ruled the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 14th and 15th centuries, had been recorded in numerous

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<sup>23</sup> Among them, Maironis, "Tarp skausmų i garbę" (1895), J. Užupis, "Lietuvos Eneidas" (1913-1914). The songs of another modern-day Lithuanian bard, Pranas Puskunigis (1860-1946), were revived in the 1980's by the folk theater ensemble of Povilas Mataitis. Puskunigis composed and sang songs about the Lithuanian golden age of the 14th and 15th century, accompanying himself on the kanklės (See Bruzgienė 1991: 12-16, and text of "Senovės daina" by Puskunigis, pages 64-65).



chronicles. At the beginning of the 20th century, however, this history was not known by most members of the Lithuanian public. It was this ignorance that the Lithuanian author Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius (1882-1954) strove to dispel when he began to write his Legends of the Old People of Dainava (1912). A reviewer of that book remarked that it might be revised to become the Lithuanian parallel of the Kalevala, Kalevipoeg, The Tale of Igor, and other poems of national history (Skrodenis 1967: 140). In a later interview Krėvė explained his intentions:

While I was writing, the idea came to me that I should depict the heroes among the Lithuanians in ancient times, to raise our nation's pride about these heroes. The Russian chronicles call the ancient Lithuanians "chrobaja Litva" (the brave Lithuanians). I wanted to show my countrymen this "chrabrostj" (bravery) which was theirs, and to make them understand that there is no need to be ashamed of calling themselves Lithuanians, as many were ashamed at the time, but rather that they should be proud [Krėvė 1960 [1940]: 409].

Such was the aim of Krėvė when he wrote the sequel to the Legends of Dainava, the dramatic story of Šarūnas, Prince of Dainava (1910-1911). Krėvė's assertion that the work was based on folk legends and songs which he had recorded in southeastern Lithuania was questioned and debated in the 1930's (Skrodenis 1967: 140-141).

Šarūnas was not a poem, but as a heroic story supposedly based on folklore, it assumed a place in Lithuanian culture which is similar to, though perhaps not as prominent as the role of Kalevipoeg and Lāčplēsis in Estonia and Latvia. The three epic narratives are similar: all three reach their climax in the historical setting of the Medieval Baltic Crusade; all end with the tragic death of the heroic leader, and express a hope that the hero's unfinished work will someday become reality.<sup>24</sup> It is this international motif of a lost Golden

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<sup>24</sup> Kalevipoeg is the king of Estonia, defending it in battle against all foreign invaders. After he becomes leader of the Estonians, "an era rich with happiness" follows. Kalevipoeg's happy plans for marriage are broken by war. The foe, unnamed at first, turns out to be iron warriors who sailed to Riga on ships. A second swarm of enemies attacks from Russia and Poland. The Estonians battle

Age which must someday return, which inspired many subsequent Baltic national activists and caused the three works to be repeated in many variants.<sup>25</sup> The literary works became expressions of the national myth, as described by Lauri Honko in a discussion of the Finnish Kalevala: The narrative of a lost Golden Age in history was a powerful force which moved many persons to action, in hopes of creating such a Golden Age culture in the modern world (Honko 1987). The work of the Baltic nation-builders, who sought folklore as a basis for unique works of national literature, resulted in national cultures which are quite similar to those of many other European nations (Löfgren 1989).

The search for national history began with a search for epic folksongs in the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian oral traditions. When such fragments of heroic history could not be found, poets stepped forth to create works of literature in their place. In Estonia, some native folksongs were incorporated in the Kalevipoeg's text, and the resulting work was relatively

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courageously, but superior weapons give the invaders an advantage: "Swords can't fracture iron/ Their axes can't splinter steel." After a bloody battle and the death of two friends, Kalevipoeg tells another hero to become king, and goes off alone into the wilderness to lament "for times now past." Here, as a result of the curse of a Finnish sorcerer, Kalevipoeg meets his death from his own enchanted sword.

Lāčplēsis, nursed by a bear in childhood, also becomes king of the Latvians at a time when the "Golden Age" in Latvia has been broken by war. Christian missionaries and soldiers strive to subjugate the Latvians. For a brief period, Lāčplēsis drives the Crusaders into retreat, and peace returns to his kingdom. A traitor reveals to the enemy that the secret of Lāčplēsis's strength lies in his bear's ears. A German warrior cuts off the ears, and in the ensuing hand-to-hand struggle both Lāčplēsis and the German fall into the River Daugava, where they disappear beneath the waves.

In Šarūnas, the Lithuanians are confronted with a crisis during the war with the Teutonic Order. They must decide to abandon the idyllic life of small, scattered tribes, and become a strong, unified state in order to preserve their independence. The challenge of unification falls to Prince Šarūnas, who confronts widespread apathy and traditionalism among the Lithuanians with harsh tyranny, killing off his rivals in politics and love. Hated by many during his life, Šarūnas does not attain his goal and is killed in battle. Only after his death do the Lithuanians begin to understand his dream of a unified Lithuania.

<sup>25</sup> Kalevipoeg has been abridged in numerous children's storybooks, excerpted in school textbooks, reworked into plays, a ballet, and even a puppet show. Lāčplēsis was reworked by Rainis in his drama, "Fire and Night," Valdis Zeps in Kēves dēls Kurbads, Baņuta Rubesa in "Varoņdarbi," and Māra Zālīte in the rock opera, Lāčplēsis (Zālīte and Liepiņš 1991). After the publication of Šarūnas, the work was abridged and adapted for stage performance, most notably in the 1970's in Lithuania.

close to folk literature.<sup>26</sup> In Latvia, Pumpurs created a poem which was mostly original in both form and content (though the meter of Latvian folksongs was imitated in some portions), and in Lithuania, a work of prose was placed into a role similar to the Estonian and Latvian epics.

The newly created epic narratives had a strong effect on the development of Baltic literary tradition, and hold an important place among the national symbols of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania today. They had much less impact, however, outside the elite literary circles that produced them.<sup>27</sup> The greatest influence of poetry and song upon the Baltic national movements among the general population appeared, not through channels of writing and publication, but rather, through the activities of local choral singing societies. The national literatures gradually moved away from the folk literature which they had once sought to emulate, but the rhetoric related to folksongs which first arose around the national epics, merged into public discussions of choral songs. Folksongs were again tied to national heritage, but now with less emphasis on history and more stress on the contemporary cultures.

### Nations of Singers

Communal singing —usually monophonic— has been a part of Baltic folk culture for many centuries, perhaps even millenia. Choral music and the classical harmonies of European music were first introduced by the Catholic church in the Middle Ages. Among the general population of Estonian and Latvian peasants, three- or four-part choral singing first

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<sup>26</sup> Twelve percent of the verses in Kalevipoeg have been taken directly from traditional folksongs (Oinas 1985: 54).

<sup>27</sup> Oinas writes that Kalevipoeg is "the most cherished, though not the most read work of Estonian literature" (1985: 60).

took root during the 1730's, in the Christian congregations founded by the Moravian Brothers. Regular singing sessions were a unique part of the Brothers' services, which gained special acceptance in Estonia and northern Latvia. "The souls of the congregation sing the truths of the written word and make them alive...", wrote the local leader of the Moravians, "They must, however, sing without books, to guarantee that they live the idea."<sup>28</sup> While taking over some elements of the local singing tradition (e.g., alternate singing between two groups of people and improvised song sessions), the congregations established an extraordinary repertoire of songs with religious content. In the schools of the congregations (which educated many of the early rural teachers), choral singing and musical literacy were an important part of the curriculum. The success of the congregations in choral education is evident in reports of an Estonian children's choir which performed already in 1794 (Philipp 1974: 230-232, 270-273; Põldmäe 1969: 9-10).

In 1839, the local Baltic German nobility established a pedagogical seminar for teachers from the Estonian and Latvian population, under the direction of a Latvian, Jānis Cimze (1814-1881). Educated in Prussia, Cimze followed the established example of German education, including the choral traditions which were gaining popularity among Germans throughout Central Europe. He instilled in many of his students a love for song, and the seminar produced notable Estonian and Latvian schoolteachers and choral leaders.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> N. L. Zinzendorf (1700-1760), quoted in Philipp 1974: 228.

<sup>29</sup> Among them, Aleksander Saebelmann (Kunileid), the head conductor of the first Estonian national song festival in 1869 (Põldmäe 1969: 12-16; Olt 1980: 97). It should be pointed out, however, that along with its founding role in the choral tradition, the seminar gave a strong impulse to German culture among the future Estonian and Latvian teachers. At a meeting of Latvian teachers in 1863, for example, the popular German nationalist song, "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" ("What is the Fatherland of a German?") was sung, and in 1869, schoolchildren under the direction of a Cimze seminar graduate performed the song, "I am a Prussian, do you know my colors" (Švābe 1958: 171-173, 404).

In the countries that fragmented the German-speaking population of Europe during the first half of the 19th century, the national movement for state unification found its public expression in the activities of purportedly nonpolitical organizations that escaped the censorship of the local governments: singers, gymnasts, and marksmen. German men's singing societies received their founding inspiration from the Swiss music teacher Hans Georg Nägeli (1773-1836), who published two booklets on secular choral singing (1809 and 1817), in which he saw a means for developing the German national movement. On the eve of the revolution of 1848, singers throughout the German-speaking lands numbered near 100,000, with approximately 1,100 singing societies. The first "Allgemein-deutsches Sängerfest" of 1847 in Lübeck brought together 1,100 singers in the men's choir (Düding 1988: 166-190). The German choral singing traditions and the folksongs which became popular through them went hand in hand with ideas of liberal democracy, driven on by a hidden meaning of opposition to the prevailing political system of absolute rule by royal families.

During the reactionary period following the revolutions of 1848, the popularity of choral societies surged in the German-speaking parts of Europe and reached across the borders of the Russian empire, where numerous German choirs were founded in the region of present-day Estonia and Latvia.<sup>30</sup> In 1857, the first Baltic German festival in Tallinn gathered together 200 singers. Four years later, a regional German festival in Rīga could

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<sup>30</sup> A German songbook published in Riga at the time best illustrates both the declared and hidden goals of the Baltic nobility. The unnamed editors of Baltisches Liederbuch (1861) innocently point out in the preface that they chose the title of the book because they lay no claim to "regions other than their homeland" (i.e. the Baltic Provinces) and hope for a friendly reception from all who enjoy song, which gives cheer and strength in the short earthly life of men (I-II). While the preface was clearly intended for the government censors, the first song in the book speaks of pan-German unity that includes the Baltic: "Yes, be it by the Rhein, or on the shores of the Dūna [Daugava],/Wherever the German song resounds/ There rustles in a Great fatherland/ The German forest of poets." (Baltisches Liederbuch 1861: 3).

boast 700 singers from all parts of the Baltic Provinces. The festivals were attended by the Estonian newspaper editor Johann Voldemar Jannsen, who published his reports in the Estonian press. Commenting on a German song festival in Switzerland in 1858, Jannsen remarked, "I feel sad and sick when I think of it: What a miserable situation in our land regarding songs." In numerous editorials, he called for an Estonian festival which might match those of the Germans (Põldmäe 1969: 23-27). Latvian activists soon followed. The 1860's saw the first attempts at organizing Estonian and Latvian regional song festivals, which were to become the dress rehearsals for national festivals.

The first Estonian national song festival in Tartu in 1869 was clearly more German than Estonian in its outward appearance. The program consisted almost entirely of German songs sung by a men's choir,<sup>31</sup> and was accompanied by the speeches of Baltic German community leaders. Among the events of an Estonian character was a patriotic speech by the Estonian national leader Jakob Hurt, along with two songs by an Estonian poet, set to music by an Estonian composer. These events, warmly received by a largely Estonian audience despite a downpour of rain which drenched singers and listeners alike, distinguished the celebration from those held by Baltic Germans. While the German song festivals were a means for expressing a desire for unity among all Germans of Europe, the Estonian concerts were a declaration of equality between the Estonian and German nations and cultures. The festival refuted, for example, earlier speculations that Estonians as a people were physically incapable of producing choral music equal in quality to that of the Germans.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> According to Nägeli, men's voices gave the most pure expression of the German soul: women's voices were supposedly not as pure (Düding 1988: 171; see also Põldmäe 1969: 39-41).

<sup>32</sup> Such debates are referred to by Georg Julius Schultz-Bertram, who in 1857 hypothesized that the "monotony and tonelessness" of Estonian folksongs finds its origins in the Estonians' primitive five-stringed musical instrument, and not in the physical structure of the Estonian throat. He points out that Estonians are perfectly capable of performing German chorales and even works by Händel

The first Latvian national song festival, organized in 1873 by the Riga Latvian Society, achieved a greater distance from German culture than had its Estonian predecessor. A choral songbook published in that same year had included sections of "garden flowers" —songs from the international repertoire— and "wildflowers" —Latvian folksong texts arranged in four-part harmony. These "wildflowers" were featured in a separate concert, receiving enthusiastic applause from both listeners and reviewers. Epics had been praised as preservers of ancient history; the song festivals celebrated the nations and their cultures in the living present day:

Songs of the nation, sounds of the nation! — Come out of the darkness of forgetfulness into the light, and resound once again in the land of the Latvians!... You are not songs which are thought up by a poet, you are not melodies nicely composed by a composer, how is it that you touch a Latvian's heart so deeply?... you seize the patriot's heart even more than... the so-called Garden Flowers.... You, the simple sounds, describe the nation's life, with much more vitality, brightness, and truth than all of the history books. — You are the living history of the Latvian nation [Varaidošu Sanders, quoted in Bērzkalns 1965: 58; emphasis in original].

Long delays before the subsequent Estonian and Latvian national song festivals in 1879 and 1880 were caused by various factors, among them delays in getting the permission of the government for the Estonian festival planned for 1875, the outbreak of the Russian-Turkish War in 1877, which forced the postponement of plans for a Latvian festival that year, disagreements among the members of the Estonian organizing committee in choosing a president and the festival program, and a negative attitude toward the two festivals in the local governments of Baltic Germans (Pöldmāe 1976, Bērzkalns 1965: 77-82). The choral movement which had been spurred by the first festivals, however, spread to an ever wider portion of the population. The movement laid the foundations for the twentieth-century national song festivals, in which thousands of singers performed together on stage. A

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and Bach (1963: 167-168).

growing number of musicians and composers with higher education, and the professionalization of music in Estonia and Latvia, assured a steady rise in the artistic quality of the mass choral traditions and the Song Festivals into the 1920's and 1930's.

The development of Lithuanian national culture lagged behind that of the Estonians and Latvians for two main reasons. First, serfdom was abolished in the Lithuanian provinces of the Russian empire in 1861, four decades later than in the three provinces with Latvian and Estonian population, causing a lag in the economic benefits for Lithuanian peasants. Second, the Polish revolt of 1863, in which the Lithuanian gentry also took part, brought harsh repercussions. A ban on Lithuanian publications printed in the Latin alphabet slowed the development of literacy, and a ban on secular public organizations and assemblies made impossible the creation of choirs like those which became popular in Latvia and Estonia. The first Lithuanian concerts of secular and patriotic choral music were held in the 1890's, by the minority Lithuanian communities of East Prussia. Across the Russian border in Vilnius and Kaunas, however, such public assemblies were prohibited, and only a few concerts were secretly organized at the turn of the century. The political reforms of 1904 and 1905 were followed by a rush of Lithuanian cultural activities, including a movement of "Lithuanian Evenings" at which choirs, actors, and dancers performed. News of the song festivals in Estonia, Latvia, and Finland as examples for the Lithuanians to follow appeared in Lithuanian newspapers. Conflicts between religious and secular organizations, and the lack of broad organizational structures for the choirs postponed plans for a festival until 1913, but the First World War broke out and the first regional song festival and choir competition which was to have taken place in 1914 were cancelled (Jakelaitis 1970: 22-32).

The first Lithuanian national song festival, cautiously named the "Day of Songs," took place in Kaunas in 1924. A number of Lithuanian choir leaders had been stimulated by the



Latvian and Estonian song festivals which they attended in 1923, and began compiling information about the choirs in Lithuania. Preparatory regional rehearsals held that year brought together groups of choirs who then practiced singing together for the first time. The resulting festival in June of 1924 was seen as a promising indicator of future success, marred only by the rain which disrupted one of the outdoor festival concerts. Seventy-six choirs with three thousand members sang together at the opening concert. The second national song festival of 1928, however, was a disappointment. Although the number of registered participants had doubled, conflicts among the political factions of Lithuanian society, heightened after the authoritarian coup of 1926, halved the number of participants only days before the opening ceremonies. The third song festival of 1930 was the last national song festival of the independence period, and was again disrupted by political disagreements (more than half of the registered 8381 singers did not perform because of conflicts between the church and secular organizations). There seems to have been general agreement that the quality of choirs nationwide was insufficient for successful mass concerts. A systematic plan to raise the artistic level of the choirs, through education and regional festivals, began in the late thirties, but the national festival which was to have taken place in 1943 was forgotten when World War II broke out (Jakelaitis 1970: 42-48; 52-68).

The two decades of Baltic national independence between the two World Wars saw the official development of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian cultures. Native-language educational programs were developed for primary and secondary schools as well as institutions of higher education, and generations of students were educated in their native languages. Choral singing was a part of every child's education. The popularity of singing grew to nationwide proportions, making possible the massive Estonian and Latvian festivals of 1938, and setting the foundations of the enormous Soviet festivals of the postwar years.

## Song Festivals and Rural Folk Traditions

The death of the most archaic Baltic folk songs, and their gradual replacement by songs of newer origin, have been noted often (e.g. Tedre 1980: 47-54). While historical studies indicate that the work of the Moravian Brothers had a detrimental effect on folk tradition in the Baltic (Raun 1991: 53; Johansons 1975: 276), it is usually not pointed out that the final death blow to the archaic song traditions was dealt by the 19th and 20th century choral tradition associated with the national song festivals. The popular four-part harmonies which were taught from published sources by teachers trained in the German musical tradition standardized both the form and content of the Baltic song repertoire.

In Estonia in the mid-19th century, the folksongs traditionally sung in the countryside were seen as remnants of an unrefined, backward culture. Johann Voldemar Jannsen, the program organizer of the first Estonian song festival contrasted the high value of German choral music as opposed to the songs he had heard in the peasant oral tradition:

"Aido raido, ellad vennad," - "Külla neiud, norokesed," and "Tere ella ämma eita" and others like them are also called "songs," but they have no substantial words, no real melody, no sense or end; a word taken from here, another from there, all put together like a patched up bagpipe, and this should be called a song? Every man has his own words and his own melody, a second person rattles ahead of him, another one cackles after him, often the same word is repeated three or four times - and this should be called a song? ...All of the German song intellect and song festivals will not help us at all, if we don't ourselves learn to sing better than this empty, bare "aido raido," which we should leave for the drunks to sing [Jannsen 1963: 178].

Folksong scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century usually noted the fact that these songs were passing out of the memory of the nation as a result of cultural progress:

The main reason why folksongs lost their old, primeval weight and meaning among the nation is to be found elsewhere. The folksong's external foundation, the nation's life and older cultural conditions gradually changed over time. The subsequent step of development and education in both

material and spiritual terms no longer matched the old, more primitive and narrower forms of culture. The newer culture gradually pushed the older one to the side and replaced it, about which, of course, we cannot complain.... This was also the fate of the folksongs [Barons 1985(1894): xvii-xviii].

What was needed, it was believed, was not a regression to earlier ways of life, but rather, a reevaluation of the older songs:

Many of them seem outdated for the new conditions of life. But upon extracting the true, whole core of our folksongs, we discover in them the best ideal strivings of humans, the human heart and the soul's most beautiful, moral, and deepest feelings which never become outdated, though everything else in the outer appearance of the world might change [Barons 1985 (1894): xviii].

In order to carry the message of Lithuanian folksongs to the modern world, wrote Vydūnas, the words and music of the songs would have to be modified:

The folksong, which bloomed and distributed its gifts in such particularly tranquil conditions, must also reveal its beauty to the people whose taste has been dulled by a life of culture. In order for the song to be liked by such people, it needs a more firm rhythm and a concentration or reduction of its ideas into a more simple form [quoted in Skrodenis 1988: 16].

Three- or four-part harmony would best reveal the content of the songs to people of culture, believed Vydūnas; his choir, as well known as he himself was in the Lithuanian national movement, performed folksongs in the fashion of the (German) choral music prevalent at the time (Skrodenis 1988: 16).

The valuable core of the folksongs was thought to lie in their words. Melodies and performance styles belonged to the features which could and would change. Folksong melodies needed to be recorded, however, to provide the raw material for national composers: "What will become of our folk melodies?," asked the Estonian composer Rudolf Tobias in 1908, in response to frequent derogatory remarks about these melodies which he had encountered among the folk. The answer was clear. They were needed for the future culture of the nation:

After many years —our elders will probably not live to see this time— if you will happen to go to the Vanemuine Theater or another hall of Estonian art, wonderful sounds will come forward to greet you, true symphonies, operas, — you will hear them and be surprised: it will seem as if this melody were so familiar and yet so very different... "No, this is still our own song, a folksong!" [...] Listen how the melody grows and grows in the sounds of the orchestra, and finally in the powerful sounds of the choir, it shines like a meteor in the skies... how the murmur begins to rise in the hearts of thousands of listeners, how afterwards their hands move as one, like aspen leaves... Then try to say again: "Foolishness, not worth making a fuss over it" [Tobias 1980: 30-31].

While Baltic folklorists of the early twentieth century followed ever-more refined and rigorous methods of recording folksong texts and melodies, the popular tastes of the three nations were molded into the tradition of European elite music. The poetry of folksongs thrived on stage and in the works of modern composers, where it was a symbol of the nation and its culture. In this context, however, the traditional art of communal singing was replaced by the orderly, standardized choral arrangements which made possible the melding of many local singing societies into the massive choir of the National Song Festival.

Folk singing traditions survived on the periphery of Baltic culture, in isolated areas of the countryside, to be recorded and studied by ethnomusicologists, sometimes brought onto the stage in front of the educated urban public,<sup>33</sup> but never presented to the nation as a preferred means of performing the national heritage of folksongs.

#### National Song Festivals in the Soviet Era

Like its satellites elsewhere in East Europe, the Soviet government in the Baltic exerted its control over society with a combination of violence and political terror on the one

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<sup>33</sup> For example, L. Bērziņš invited Latvian singers from rural areas to perform at the University of Latvia in the 1920's (see reprinted report from 1930 concert in Metuzale-Zuzena 1990: 50).

hand, and forceful manipulation of cultural symbols on the other (cf. Niedermüller 1992: 195, Dégh 1990). The Baltic national song festival traditions of the twenties and thirties offered an opportunity which was quickly exploited after World War Two by the new Soviet government. The outward appearance of the song festival —that of an entire nation singing in unity— was as appealing to Stalin as it had been to the organizers of the prewar festivals. It was only the content of the festival repertoire which was targeted for revision.

From 1946 to 1948, the first Soviet national song festivals were held in all three republics. Society was not disposed positively toward the Soviet government, as the partisan war raged on in the Baltic countryside in full force with the support of the rural population (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: 76-126). Limited concessions were made to guide the populations onto a more stable course of acquiescence to Soviet rule. In Lithuania, the newly established network of cultural administration was mobilized to prepare a national choir. The festival plans were developed to attract and entertain a larger number of singers than had ever performed together in Lithuania:

The performers were given paid vacations from work; they were placed in the military barracks, where there were kitchens and clinics, and free meals. In the free time between rehearsals and competitions, they were treated to concerts and films, and visited by the republic's leaders [Jakelaitis 1970: 97].

The festival program was made up of folksongs known well by choirs in the prewar years, but supplemented by songs solicited in a national competition, including declarations of allegiance to the Soviet state such as "Cantata about Stalin" and "Song about the Soviet Nation." Justas Paleckis, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, declared that the festival was actually the first successful Lithuanian national song festival: "It would be too little to say that it is Lithuania's song festival. It is an event of much greater significance. It is the festival of the Lithuanian nation's resurrection!" (quoted in Jakelaitis 1970: 98).

Preparations for the three song festivals brought about an unlikely alliance of government administrators and the public. The administrators received orders "from above" to fulfill and surpass the designated plans for festival participants, while singers and conductors "from below" gladly joined the effort, hungry for an opportunity of release from the postwar hardships (Grauzdina and Poruks 1990: 42-43). The success of these song festivals was the result of a double meaning: The Stalinist government required an impressive festival of enthusiastic masses who would perform a handful of songs useful in government propaganda, but the participants would enjoy the occasion in which memories of national unity at prewar festivals could be revived.<sup>34</sup>

The eventual goals of the Soviet government soon became clear: The relaxed control over social life and culture in the first postwar years ended soon after the Latvian song festival of 1948. The partisan war was turning in favor of the Soviet troops; collectivization of agriculture and mass deportations brought the rural populations under strict control. A purge of the Estonian government brought in cadres of administrators obedient to the central government. Cultural activities were placed under increasing pressure to conform to the Soviet models of art and propaganda. The organizers of the Estonian song festival of 1947 were severely criticized by a commission from Moscow:

A feeling of pride for the dear Soviet homeland emerged spontaneously from the working people at the song festival.... There was a marked discrepancy, however, between the patriotic feelings of these people, and the content of the songs performed at the festival [quoted by Mare Põldmäe 1990: 33].

Three members of the Estonian organizing committee were arrested, and careful surveillance of subsequent organizational meetings ensured that the festival of 1950 would

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<sup>34</sup> A similar situation of double meanings in Czechoslovak festivals is described by Zelinska-Ferl 1989.

conform to the standards of the Communist Party. Opening with a "Cantata to Stalin," and closing with a performance by the Soviet Army Chorus, the program of the unlucky thirteenth Estonian Song Festival remains a monument to the Stalinist era in Estonia (M. Põldmäe 1990: 32-35).

The three Baltic song festivals of 1950 set the model which was followed by the subsequent festivals of the Soviet era: organizers were allowed to include native folksongs and even a few songs which expressed popular opposition to Soviet rule (the "unofficial national anthems" discussed in Chapter One), while the dominant tone of the festivals was set by mandatory displays of Soviet patriotism. The traditions of the Soviet song festivals collapsed completely in 1990, in the absence of censorship or a threat of retaliation from above.

The success of song festivals in the Soviet era is tied to a paradox in the history of the Baltic national cultures: Enormous government subsidies for cultural activities raised the artistic abilities of Soviet Baltic choirs to unprecedented levels. The number of singers at each festival grew steadily, and the national choir's repertoire of songs became ever larger and more complex. The Lithuanian song festival tradition, faltering throughout the 1920's and 1930's as a result of internal political conflict, reached maturity only in the postwar years, under the Soviet government. In Latvia and Estonia, too, the song festivals of the Soviet era attained numbers of participants and musical quality higher than ever before.<sup>35</sup> Beginning in 1956, Gaudeamus, a song festival for university students from all three republics, was hosted in turn by each of the three capital cities. Here, Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian singers learned that they shared an understanding of the song festival as an occasion for expressing hidden national resistance. The three Soviet republics acquired a

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<sup>35</sup> See Appendix II for numbers of festival participants.

common identity of the "Land of Songs" within the Soviet Union. Common Baltic identity, fostered in part by these Baltic singing traditions, ensured that the Singing Revolution of the late eighties would also be a Baltic Revolution.

Firmly established in the first years of Stalinist rule, the Baltic song festivals and their supporting structures of choral education and administration remained relatively unchanged for a half century. Folksongs became a part of the festival repertoire which was acceptable to government and public alike: to the public, these songs symbolized national culture resistant to Russification, while to the government ideologues, they were a living, enthusiastic voice of the working classes expressing Soviet patriotism in songs. At the song festival, the displayed image of folksongs was an art of the masses, performed by the masses. The models established by earlier national activists lived a double existence under Soviet rule. Folksongs were still seen as national symbols, as national treasure, and as a means of mobilizing and uniting the masses. This symbolism was actively (and cynically) included in the Soviet propaganda machine, while retaining among the general Baltic public its tacit meanings of national resistance to Soviet rule.

Folksongs were also included in other displays of Soviet culture. In the concerts of government-sponsored "song and dance ensembles," folklore was raised to the level of high art to be performed by highly trained specialists. A grass-roots movement emerged in reaction to these official ensembles during the late 1960's, aiming to reclaim folklore as art which belongs to the general population. The conflict arising between the two forms of folklore display is reviewed in the next chapter.



### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE FOLKLORE MOVEMENT IN THE BALTIC STATES

The folklore movement, as the recent popular revival of folksongs is called today, resulted from two opposite forces. "From above" came the planned development of Soviet culture, in which folklore was to assist in homogenizing national cultures and merging them into an international, "Socialist" (or Soviet) identity. "From below," the members of the public and the artists and poets to whom the public looked for leadership embraced folklore as an escape from the society which they were helpless to change. For them, the national symbolism of folklore offered an alternative to the officially propagated culture. The attempts at social engineering from above and spiritual escape from below met in folklorism. Similar cultural movements were developing at the same time elsewhere in the Soviet bloc— in Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and other East European countries where "Socialist nationalism" diverted public attention from failing social structures (Niedermüller 1992: 198-199).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This history of the three Baltic folklore movements and their interrelations does not extend far beyond the borders of the three republics. A comparative study of all of the similar movements which emerged around 1968 in East Europe and elsewhere is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The Lithuanian movement, which strongly influenced those of the Estonians and Latvians, seems to have emerged independently. Of the movement leaders whom I interviewed, none had contacts outside the USSR in the sixties, and none recalled events outside Lithuania which might have inspired them at the time. Even when I asked, for example, if they recalled thinking about the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, none thought that it was an event about which they knew much, or which made them intensify their cultural activities. Rūitel attributes the worldwide revived interest in folklore to large cyclical developments in the history of humanity (1987, quoted below in this chapter). Although the theoretical traditions of European elite music were not known to the folklore activists, their interest in reviving the loud, "unrefined" rural singing traditions in the urban context is probably historically related to the ideas of Béla Bartók in Hungary (cf. Dégh 1987).

The year 1968 is here identified as a beginning point in the movement, because in this year, three of the first and subsequently leading Lithuanian folklore ensembles were founded. The year is often thought to be a year of "psychological watershed" when the Baltic cultural renaissance came to an

In the Baltic republics, the symbolism of songs was useful to both government institutions and to the public. Because the "nations of singers" provided wonderful propaganda images of Soviet patriotism, their song festivals were subsidized heavily; because these festivals were seen by the public as a means of displaying and maintaining national cultures in spite of the official Russification and Sovietization, they thronged by tens of thousands to participate as singers or listeners.

In the new, unofficial folksong revival, such a double meaning could not be maintained, because this movement emerged in direct opposition to firmly established Soviet traditions of folklore performance. The "stylization" of folklore —the reworking of folklore materials in order to make them resemble performances in the established, classical traditions of choral song, instrumental music, and ballet— was criticized as disfiguration, too distant from the "authentic" folklore from which it had taken its source materials. Leaders of the folklore movement saw in folklore art which could and should be performed by people without the training required for classical and popular music. Cultural administrators criticized the movement as a "regression" to earlier stages of art and social development.

The debates over stylized and unstylized folklore concerned an aspect of the folklore movement which could be discussed openly. The true conflict, however, was over the control of artistic life in Soviet society. Art forms and festivals which had not been planned and regulated from above were disruptive at best and seditious at worst. The new, unofficial folklorism did, in fact, "regress" to musical and poetic forms which existed before the urbanization of the countryside and the Soviet collectivization of agriculture. The many

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end and organized dissident activities emerged. After the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, a period of repression began in the Baltic, and the guarded optimism of the Thaw gave way to the resignation and dissent of the seventies (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: xiii, 201-203). The birth of the folklore ensembles in Lithuania offered a means of public expression at a time when other forms of art were suppressed.

unique regional traditions embraced by the folklore ensembles disrupted the convergence of all Soviet nations into one, as planned by the cultural engineers of Soviet life. The folklore movement broke government control over everyday life in significant ways: those who discovered in themselves the ability to create art—to lead groups in folk singing, for example—uncovered a source of the self-reliance needed to step out of the conventional mass culture of their society, and to become independent from established Soviet culture.

The movement, which by its culmination in the late 1980's had attracted tens of thousands of members in the Baltic, was a mass movement in outward appearance only. Every folklore ensemble depended on active individuals, persons liberated from the restrictions imposed from above on musical culture, singers and musicians who were able to actively bear folklore traditions in ways much like those of the singers who passed their art on from generation to generation in rural villages. They differed from these earlier singers only in intent: village leaders did not consider their songs to belong to national culture. But the gifts which ensured the success of the earlier singers—outgoing personalities, good memory and quick thinking, self-assuredness—were a necessary part of folksong performance, in modern days as in earlier centuries. These gifts, celebrated in folklore ensembles, brought about a change in Soviet culture. This chapter will trace the history of this liberating cultural movement, as it developed in opposition to the officially sanctioned culture, and finally, as it flooded and overpowered the officially administered Soviet festivals of the 1980s.

### Soviet Art for the Masses

Folklore held a prominent position in the ideology and government policies of the Soviet Union. It was constantly emerging communal art, to be developed and transformed for use in modern Soviet society:

Socialist society has created the conditions for the preservation and development of folk arts. Inheriting and affirming national folk traditions, folk arts became imbued with socialist ideas and reflect the new, transformed reality. They are supported by state and local organizations, and folk artists are awarded prizes and honorary titles. A network of research institutions, both institutes and museums, have been established to study folk arts and to promote their development.... Outstanding folk artistic works created in the course of many centuries have retained their significance as a living cultural heritage and a treasure-house of the artistic experience of the popular masses [Great Soviet Encyclopedia, Vol 17 (1978): 58].

The study and use of folklore in the postwar years followed the propaganda image of progressive history: Folkloristics of the capitalist stage in history, it was said, fostered goals antagonistic to the working class, but the new Socialist state would raise the working class and its art to a position of leadership.

The Soviet requirement that scholars practice "active intervention in the folklore process," and the planned ideological and artistic guidance of oral poetry were discussed in detail in 1933, by the Organizing Committee of the Soviet Writers Union (Sokolov 1936: 91).<sup>2</sup> Several years later, an ensemble was founded in Moscow which was to set the example for Soviet folklore performances of the subsequent decades. The Folk Dance Ensemble of the USSR, founded in 1937 by Igor Aleksandrovich Moiseev (born 1906), aimed to perform folklore on a refined, professional level equal to that of classical art. The folk dances of

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<sup>2</sup> An encyclopedia entry, which affirmed to the public the opinions of Stalin and the Soviet government, is quoted here, and not the scholarly publications of the time. For the academic debates supporting this view of folklore, see Oinas 1984: 131-179.

many nations were stylized and elaborated for stage performances which combined the mastery of ballet and acrobatics; new choreographies ("The Partisans," "A Kolkhoz Street") extolled the values of Soviet society; they were complemented by a spectacular array of stylized folk costumes and lively arrangements of instrumental music. Enthusiastic ovations from audiences, both within the Soviet Union as well as abroad, were genuine. The awe-inspiring dances, cheerful instrumental music, and a rainbow of colorful apparel presented a model for Stalin's vision of Soviet art —national in form, socialist in content— and the ensemble and its leader received the Stalin Prize in 1942, 1947, and 1952.<sup>3</sup>

Folk art groups modelled after Moiseev's ensemble were founded throughout the USSR: Scores of amateur ensembles (with professional instructors) were also created in the Baltic immediately after World War II. "But we all know," writes Kazys Poškaitis, historian of the Lithuanian folkdance ensembles, "that amateur art grows and develops only... when it has an example to follow.... Such an example, as well as a source of repertoire, can only be a professional collective" (1985: 60). Professional ensembles were founded in Lithuania (1940, named Lietuva ["Lithuania"] in 1966),<sup>4</sup> and in Latvia (Daile ["Art"], 1968).

Beginning already in the late forties, the song and dance ensembles were incorporated into the mass spectacles of the National Song and Dance Festivals. It would be a great mistake to assume that the members of these newly founded groups were supporters of the Soviet government and its ideology. Like the choirs which thronged to Baltic song festivals, the folk song and dance ensembles expressed the national pride of their nations. Like the performances of the choirs, however, the repertoires of these ensembles were made part of

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<sup>3</sup> See entries on Moiseev and the ensemble in B. A. Vvedenskii, ed., *Bol'shaia soverskaia entsiklopediia*, Vol 12 (1952): 310-312, and Vol 28 (1954): 74.

<sup>4</sup> The ensemble's dance leader travelled to Moscow in 1941, to consult with the Moiseev ensemble and teach it Lithuanian dances (Poškaitis 1985: 59-60).

the government propaganda campaign. Because they had to follow the restrictions and requirements of the planned Soviet cultural life, the song and dance ensembles moved an ever-greater distance from the archaic folklore of their nations: for example, tempos were speeded up, even doubled, displaying the technical prowess of the ensemble, but straying from traditional style.

Along with the change in the dance manner, other, not always typical movements, or movements mechanically borrowed from the dances of other nations, began to appear in the stage dances. These then appeared in new variations, the more, the better, especially when the stage dance was developed ever more. This is illustrated by the fact that over the period of ten years from 1961 to 1970, 200 new dances were created, that is, as many as during the previous fifteen years (Poškaitis 1985: 72-73).

Folklore in the Soviet Union was subjected to a rapid process of development. The result was a gradual convergence of the repertoires of all Soviet ensembles, regardless of nationality. "Regression" to earlier, more unique forms of folklore performance was not allowed. In 1961, Jonas Švedas, the founding leader of Lietuva, was dismissed from his position. As he later wrote in a bitter letter to his teacher, the reasons for his removal were clear:

I consider my greatest mistake to be the fact that, after 22 years of work, of searching, of victories and errors— I had to cease working, because I didn't watch to see whither the new winds were blowing. They were blowing in a decorative, industrial-virtuoso, outwardly exciting direction, but I had fallen in love with dying traditions, the touching lyricism of folk songs, the slightly naive folk humor, and the simple miniature form, clear as crystal.

[...]

Five years have passed since the time when, with my weakening health, I transferred to pedagogical work, and the ensemble, now named Lietuva, is led by my apprentice, Vladas Bartusevičius. During that time, the ensemble has acquired an external shimmer, with new (at times overly decorative) costumes. The collective has been rejuvenated, it has developed in virtuosity. But it seems to me that up to the present day it has not discovered the secret of Lithuanian traditionality. Having once again revised the old repertoire of songs and dances, it is losing the traditional Lithuanian folk character. But the new pieces it creates, it makes so "virtuoso," that

other ensembles are not able to repeat them and suffer from a famine of repertoire.<sup>5</sup>

The growing distance between the "folk creativity" of the government-sponsored ensembles and the tastes and abilities of the general Lithuanian population led to a widespread movement of return to the traditional rural culture, a vital part of Lithuanian life only a generation earlier.

### Conflicting Visions of Folk Culture

In the winter of 1968-1969, the exemplary professional song and dance ensemble of the Lithuanian SSR, Lietuva, unveiled its newest concert program, "Festive Evenings." After the first performance, open debates began over the nature of folklore, and the role traditional culture was to play in modern society. Two opposing reviews of the concert were published together in the main literary and cultural newspaper.<sup>6</sup> The first, titled "Lietuva Reborn," took a positive stance regarding stylization of folklore:

For a long time, we impatiently awaited the new program of the award-winning State Folk Ensemble, Lietuva. We were troubled by the question, "Will the collective choose, as in past performances, the path of the dazzling stage show, stylized and distant from folk traditions, or will it retain the boundless wealth of Lithuanian folklore?" [...]

The union of ancient forms with contemporary sentiments and tempos, the presentation of the material itself, affirms the printed program's words, that the experience and wisdom which were accumulated in the ancient folk festivals can become a bridge of sorts in our new mass events. Truly, the

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<sup>5</sup> Letter to Juozas Žilevičius, 22 Dec 1966, published in Švedas 1978: 239. He did not resign on account of poor health, as indicated in this letter. In a later letter, written in 1970, he notes in passing, "But now, after I was dismissed from my duties as leader of the ensemble in 1962, ..." (1978: 244). See also Skrodenis 1988: 90-94.

<sup>6</sup> The two reviews agreed that the performance included elements which were not typical of traditional Lithuanian folklore, for example, the vocal arrangements and singing style. They opposed each other in tone and attitude towards the stylization of folklore.

songs, games, instrumental music, dances, legends, and orations which resounded at traditional celebrations a hundred or more years ago should (of course, in a new way) enrich and give meaning to the traditions of Soviet life [Palionytė 1969].

The second review, titled "True or Relative Ethnographism?," attacked the very foundations of the Lietuva performance, and of the Soviet notion of folklore:

Lietuva has turned in the direction of ethnography, but the new program may not be called folk art. It is the creation of Soviet Lithuanian composers, choreographers, and poets. [...]

The annotation in the program has a sentence which misleads the audience: "'Festive Evenings' employs the most interesting and typical ethnographic materials and rituals from Dzūkija, Žemaitija, Aukštaitija, and Suvalkija [ethnographic regions of Lithuania]..." Most of the songs and dances are neither typical nor interesting from the folklorist's point of view. [...]

Intonations foreign to our folk music, motifs of sentimental songs, the influence of pop and mass songs— this has all resulted in third-rate pseudofolklore, which is collected by folklorists only in the name of scholarly objectivity. We encounter creations in this "folklore" style in the "Festive Evenings" [Gučas 1969: 6].

The star ensemble of Soviet Lithuania continued its performances with few changes in its approach to folklore, travelling often on concert tours outside the USSR (Lietuva celebrated its fiftieth anniversary at a gala concert in 1991). The rising public discontent with official Soviet culture which was aired in the newspaper review quoted above, however, led to growing interest in a new form of folklore performance that emerged on stage in 1968.

### The Youthful Urban Folklore Revival in Lithuania

Of the three Baltic States after World War II, Lithuania was the least industrialized, and consequentially, had the largest proportion of population living in rural areas.<sup>7</sup> Of the

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<sup>7</sup> Before 1970, more than half of the Lithuanian population still lived in the countryside, close to the traditional way of life which had only partially been destroyed by the forced collectivization of the decade following the war. In contrast, the urbanization of the Latvian and Estonian population took place at least two decades earlier (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: 364-365). The rural roots of the



students attending Vilnius University in the late fifties and early sixties, most had strong ties to the traditional village culture —language, songs, and narratives— of their parents or grandparents. They recall today that they would gather outdoors between lectures to sing folksongs, and spend evenings of song in the dormitories. It is no surprise that, beginning with the thaw of 1957, Vilnius University "boiled and bubbled" with newly founded groups of amateur ethnographers and folklorists:

In the summers there were mass folklore expeditions, and during the academic year, there were cheerful, friendly, meaningful vakaronės [evening gatherings of song and dance] and performances by folk singers. Beautiful years! Their sincerity and energy brought the students' cultural tastes to maturity [D. Sauka 1982: 254].

In 1963, ten students led by Norbertas Vėlius organized the first "complex expedition," as it had been suggested to them by their instructor, Donatas Sauka. These students from various university departments travelled together to a village in southeast Lithuania, and, using their personal money, published ethnographic descriptions of the village in a book. The "Local Heritage Study Society" (Kraštotyros draugija) which they founded grew rapidly, and organized many other amateur expeditions, each of them producing a new published book. Other student organizations of the time —the "Hikers" (Žigeiviai) and "Tourist Clubs"— fostered similar goals of a return to the land and its peasant traditions. The expeditions organized by these student groups brought the university youth in direct contact with the recent history of Lithuania: Firsthand witnesses told them of the partisan war and mass deportations of the late forties, events which were concealed or misrepresented in the

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Lithuanian students gave them direct ties to the partisan war which raged in Lithuania for at least four years after the end of WWII. In my conversations with persons active in the budding folklore movement of the early sixties, I found that most, if not all, remembered that they knew at the time about cousins or uncles who had fought or been killed in the partisan war. These strong memories of armed battle against the Soviet state seem to distinguish the Lithuanian students from the Estonians and Latvians. Perhaps it is for this reason that the folklore movement emerged most dramatically in Lithuania.

official lessons at school. History came to life in informal lectures and forbidden songs sung by the light of campfires at night. In later years, a growing number of students and faculty from Vilnius University participated in ethnographic activities, culminating in the expeditions of 1970 and 1971, when groups of approximately 150 young scholars of history, ethnography, psychology, sociology, art, and folklore travelled together to study rural Lithuanian communities.<sup>8</sup>

The students experimented with new research methods: Instead of simply tape recording songs and transcribing, publishing, and analyzing them after returning to the city, the members of the expeditions stayed in the field for long periods of time, learning the customs and folklore of the community by working and singing together with the people they studied. The archaic peasant customs and songs were made a part of the students' everyday life. Throughout the year in Vilnius, students began gathering regularly to listen to rural folk singers brought to Vilnius from the countryside, and to sing and dance in the older Lithuanian folk style. Professional folklorists helped organize ethnographic ensembles which reconstructed the customs and singing traditions of their native regions, for performances to growing urban audiences.<sup>9</sup>

In April of 1968, a group of actors from the Youth Theater in Vilnius held their first, enthusiastically-received folksong concerts (Sviderskis 1968, Genovaitė 1968). In autumn that year, a second group of youths, students at Vilnius University led by Aldona Ragevičienė,

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<sup>8</sup> As recalled, for example, by Norbertas Vėlius and Leonardas Sauka, during conversations in the fall of 1991. For published descriptions of the expeditions, see, e.g., Vėlius 1969, Pociulpaite 1971, Kelmickaitė 1976. The books published by the Kraštotyra Society, as well as the five-volume scholarly publication of folklore texts which appeared at the time (Korsakas 1962-1968) were among the most popular sources consulted by the folklore ensembles which soon were founded in Vilnius. See also footnote 7 above.

<sup>9</sup> One of the best-known performances was that of the "Wedding Traditions in the Kupiškis Region," which premiered in 1966 and was repeated for many years afterward.

received permission to found the University Student Ethnographic Ensemble.<sup>10</sup> From a laconic newspaper report about that ensemble's premiere performance held in December that year, one can sense that the revival of folk songs was tied to a spiritual search for an ethical basis in life, shared by all present, whether they be performers or audience:

In the candlelight on a low stage the games, songs, and legends of the winter festival, forgotten by most, came back to life. The concert resembled a folk gathering of old, when the young village men and women gathered and told stories of demons and witches, sang songs, and cast lots to discover when they would marry. [...] The young performers interacted with the audience, shunning theatrical elements, sincerely and simply, letting the program sound in a note of authenticity. An atmosphere of directness prevailed in both concerts, which received warm applause from the audience [Jacinevičius 1968].

Twenty years later, a participant in the activities of the Vilnius University students wrote, "neither the collection of materials in expeditions, nor the evening performances could satisfy the thirsty soul. We sensed that there were deep, never-aging ideas hidden in the traditions. We understood that the folk song is not merely a musical art, but an expression of a better culture and way of thought" (Trinkūnas 1989: 5). In 1968, on the centennial anniversary of the Lithuanian nationalist Vydūnas (1868-1963), seven students founded the first ramuva,<sup>11</sup> a society of folklorists and ethnographers. On the day it was officially registered, January 31, 1969, the society published the first of three four-page newspapers, declaring its goals, membership, and names of faculty members who supported the membership:

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<sup>10</sup> According to later terminology it would be called a "folklore ensemble," and not "ethnographic ensemble."

<sup>11</sup> Ramuva, officially defined as a synonym for "society," was used, along with ramuviečiai ("society members") as generic terms for many similar organizations. For descriptions of events organized by the ramuva's, see, e.g., Andriuškevičius 1969a and 1969b, Motiejūnas 1971, Krištopaitė and Burkšaitienė 1971, Biržėitytė 1971. In the past, ramuva referred to a holy meeting place of the pagan Lithuanians. The word was also the title of a drama (1913) by Vydūnas.

the goal of the founders of the ramuva is not simply the study of folk culture, but also assisting people in acquiring a use for it in everyday life. We consider folk art, customs, and folklore to be, not extinguished materials, but rather, a source of spiritual values necessary in our everyday lives.<sup>12</sup>

The leader of the first ramuva, Jonas Trinkūnas, taught a course in "atheism" (actually, a comparative history of religion) at Vilnius University.<sup>13</sup> He had originally been personally attracted to Hinduism and Buddhism, but had then turned to the study and revival of the pre-Christian religion of the Lithuanians and ancient Balts. The Midsummer celebrations at Kernavė, which he helped organize, were intended as first steps in the revival of the ancient rituals and beliefs.<sup>14</sup>

Another folklore ensemble (later named Sadauja, a refrain word in songs) acquired a strong political meaning from its founding in 1969: Its star singer, the source of a large part of the group's repertoire, had recently returned from forced exile in Siberia. The growing number of folklore ensembles which acted independently from the government cultural administration was met with disfavor in the eyes of the Soviet government. The political police moved to halt the unofficial student activism: already in 1968, the organizers of the Kernavė Midsummer celebration were ordered to discontinue the festival, and the celebrations which nevertheless took place were placed under open surveillance by the KGB. Agents circulated in the crowd taking photographs, and when the participants returned to Vilnius, they were summoned to interrogations. In 1971, the leader of the Vilnius University ramuva was dismissed from the faculty, and the organization banned. The student folklore

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<sup>12</sup> The newspaper is reprinted in Ramuva 1989, page 6. Two subsequent issues of the newspaper were published on 28 February 1969 and 15 June 1971.

<sup>13</sup> See Trinkūnas 1970, where he equates "atheism" with the study of pre-Christian Lithuanian mythology.

<sup>14</sup> Jonas Trinkūnas, tape recorded interviews, 17 September and 22 September, 1991.

expeditions and the informal evenings of folk music were attacked by a leader of the Communist Youth League:

Sometimes the students sing songs of doubtful content on their hikes, often our tourism groups are joined by nonmembers. This is the result of poor organization. The hike routes should be kept under more strict control, and precise lists of club members should be maintained. [...]

Other rude violations also occur. In the spring, there appear "cultural" evenings organized by amateurs, dances on the territory of the dormitories. We have severely punished these noisemakers, seekers of depraved romance, and we will continue to punish them [Žeimantas 1971].

Finally, the galleys for the book prepared by the 1970 expedition to Gervėčiai were held up in the printing house (it was finally published in 1989), and the Kraštotyra Society was annexed by Soviet functionaries. Membership in the Society, as well as participation on expeditions, was now restricted, and the Society's activities were directed towards the collection of politically correct Soviet folklore.

The folklore ensembles which had been founded in Vilnius from 1968 to 1971 were not disbanded, however, and they continued performing, having won their first victory simply by surviving.<sup>15</sup> In 1974, after the private recommendation of the First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the Youth Theater actors' ensemble led by Povilas Mataitis became the first professional folklore ensemble in the Baltic.<sup>16</sup> The official recognition of this ensemble, now affiliated with the Lithuanian Folklife Museum in Rumšiškės, set a precedent for the creation of many new Lithuanian folklore ensembles, and the folklore revival soon became a movement of mass proportions. In 1977, the new leader of the Vilnius

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<sup>15</sup> Interviews with activists of the time suggest that the survival of the ensembles was due to the enthusiasm and determination of the young ensemble members, together with a passive, benevolent inactivity on the part of the lower level administrators who chose to neither openly defend nor attack the ensembles.

<sup>16</sup> The sponsorship of Antanas Sniečkus, a Communist leader who did much for the preservation of Lithuanian national identity, was described to me by Povilas Mataitis (founding leader of the professional folklore ensemble) during an interview in the autumn of 1991.

University ensemble, Zita Kelmickaitė, revived the traditions of student folklore expeditions, which were soon adopted by many other ensembles. Performances of songs and dances collected by the members of ensembles soon became a common part of folklore concerts.

In the early eighties, a campaign against folklore ensembles was announced in Lithuania, but with few practical results. The Lithuanians recall a speech by Leonid Brezhnev, in which he is said to have declared, "Enough of this ethnographism!" (I could not find such a reference in the speeches published in Lithuania at the time.) It seems more likely that the anti-folklore and anti-dissident campaign was a result of Yurii Andropov's ascent to power in the Soviet Union. Andropov was quoted by a Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee in a January 1983 speech, which also attacked the folklore ensembles in the vague manner typical of such Soviet declarations:

In the general context of our culture, as new spiritual values are created, there is also a return to historical-ethnographic elements and phenomena. We see this in art, architecture, film. This is a natural attempt to strengthen the cultural memory. But sometimes this attempt turns into fashion and stylization, when, with no respect for the needs of the present, for socialist content, with no attempt at selection, efforts are made to revive and reestablish everything that has ever existed. This has occurred in various projects of the Restoration Board, and in the uncontrollable onslaught of ethnographic ensembles [...]

Dear comrades! Soviet Lithuanian culture, socialist in content and national in form, marches on a path of bountiful ideology [*idejiškumas*] and artistry. The future of its prosperity is affirmed by the political and moral conscience of our cultural workers and creative intelligentsia, by the sincere and devoted work of the entire nation, by the just and consistent politics of the Communist Party" (Šepetys 1983).

As in the official campaign against "nationalists" in the early seventies, cultural administrators responded to the calls from above with passive inactivity, allowing the folklore ensembles to continue their activities in much the same way as before.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> In an interview in 1991, Zita Kelmickaitė mentioned this government declaration to me, but she added that she asked the Minister of Culture, Dainius Trinkūnas, what was expected of the folklore ensembles; he replied that they should continue their activities as before, but only avoid excessive

### Folklorism in Estonia: A Movement of Urban Intellectuals

In Estonia during the second half of the 1950's, Herbert Tampere, an ethnomusicologist trained during that republic's independence, began publishing the folk songs and melodies that had been collected from Estonian oral tradition (Tampere 1956-1965). A decade later, he organized public concerts at the Museum of Theater and Music in Tallinn, finding a regular audience at these Saturday gatherings where Estonian folk musicians from various parts of the republic performed (Kippar 1979: 7). The late sixties witnessed a general rise of interest in the nations linguistically related to the Estonians. Ethnomusicologist Ingrid Rüütel, who became director of the Estonian Folklore Archive in Tartu, expanded the archive's holdings to encompass the traditional cultures of all the Finno-Ugric peoples, establishing Estonia as a center of research for these cultures.<sup>18</sup> Estonian scholars organized conferences on Finno-Ugric studies, engaging the interest of a broad sector of the Estonian intelligentsia.

As in the Lithuanian movement, folk songs were integrated into a search for a spiritual base in life, founded in the national heritage of the Estonians. The composer Veljo Tormis (b. 1930), well known for his arrangements of Finno-Ugric music, became a leader of the Estonian folksong revival. In the cultural life of the republic, Tormis gained the role of a "contemporary shaman," a modern-day equivalent of the Finno-Ugric medicine men of the

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coverage in the mass media. Lithuania, where the official declarations of the eighties were not followed by concrete action, thus differed from Latvia.

<sup>18</sup> Ingrid Rüütel (born 1935) wrote about her plans for the archive upon becoming its director (Rüütel 1970); she has later discussed the influence on her work by her teacher, Herbert Tampere (Rüütel 1985). The archive and the Estonian Sound Studio produced records which brought the archaic melodies and songs of the Finno-Ugric peoples to the ears of the general public, e.g., two five-disk sets of Estonian folk songs and melodies, a record of Votic and Izhorian songs (1979), Ersä Mordvin songs (1980), and Livonian songs (see Rüütel 1985 and Rüütel 1990).

past, who sought to heal the public by means of music and archaic songs (Vaike Sarv 1990).

"I believe that the old folk song is a living art," declared Tormis, "It is hidden in the forest, it is in our blood, we need to only begin singing, and we will once again recognize it" (quoted by Tõnurist 1971). Tormis enjoyed breaking up the formality of composers' and musicologists' meetings by standing up and leading regivärss songs (one such occasion is described in Uiga 1973; numerous others were recalled by Estonians who were present at the meetings). His vocal arrangements, which became very popular among contemporary choirs, aimed to retain all of the stylistic elements and harmonies of traditional songs, and to revive regivärss as a part of modern culture (Liidja 1974).

Together with live performances, the mass media played an ever-increasing role in the dissemination of folk songs. While earlier Estonian radio programs had broadcast field recordings of folk music on an irregular basis,<sup>19</sup> a new series airing in the autumn of 1971 had the purpose of teaching the public about the archaic folk songs. Field recordings of the songs were accompanied by "splinters" of informative commentary prepared by folklorists O. Kõiv, I. Tõnurist, and I. Rüütel, and composer V. Tormis. In a descriptive commentary on the new radio series, Tõnurist observed that

in striving to attain European culture during the national awakening, we consciously abandoned our old folk song, disconnecting it from our cultural life.... [But] unaffected by the fashions that toss about, it lives on all the same [Tõnurist 1971].

Soviet censors would have forbidden any open call for a revival and strengthening of Estonian national culture: the goals of the broadcast organizers —maintenance of the unique heritage of Estonian folklore as a vital part of the national culture— echoed the romanticism of an earlier era of Estonian national activism:

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<sup>19</sup> In 1971, the 10-minute program, Vikerradio, was broadcast on Friday evenings from February until the summer. A second series, Rahvaloomingu varasalvest, was broadcast at irregular intervals.



I wish to recall what Jakob Hurt<sup>20</sup> said about folk song collecting, which can also be applied to these broadcasts: "Through it we grow in our knowledge of the Estonian people and prepare a monument to our ancestors which will shine from afar and do no shame to anyone" [Tõnurist 1971].

The first, and subsequently most prominent Estonian folklore ensembles, Leigarid ("Minstrels") and Leegajus (a folk term for the overlap of voices in call-response singing), were initially part of officially-sanctioned cultural activities. As a steadily growing number of Western tourists arrived in Estonia, the director of the Estonian Open-Air Museum decided that the Museum should sponsor an ensemble to entertain the visitors from abroad. Kristjan Torop (1934-1994), a graduate of Tartu University and specialist in stylized folk dance, was invited to create the ensemble. Torop recalls that it was only after he accepted leadership of the group that he began to delve into all of the ethnographic materials related to folk dance that he could find.<sup>21</sup> As the leader of an ensemble with no artistic precedent, Torop was free to choose the group's performance repertoire; he decided that the ensemble, soon named Leigarid, would remain as close as possible to the actual folk dance traditions of the past. The ensemble was expanded to include a group of singers with similar artistic goals.

A second Estonian group found its beginnings in the National Dance Festival of 1970. The organizers of that festival wished to have a marching bagpipe band at the festival's opening ceremonies. Among the twenty or so volunteers who answered the newspaper advertisement inviting prospective bagpipers, were three men who later remained together in an instrumental trio. They were soon joined by several ethnographers from the Estonian Academy of Sciences, and a new ensemble, Leegajus, was born. The professional ethnographers in the ensemble sought, not a form of artistic entertainment, but a means of

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<sup>20</sup> Jakob Hurt (1839-1907), folklorist and a leader of the 19th-century Estonian national movement.

<sup>21</sup> Kristjan Torop, tape recorded interviews, 20 January and 11 February, 1992.

experiencing from the "insider's perspective" the dying song traditions which they studied.

The "experimental" nature of this ensemble was explained by folklorist Vaike Sarv:

Folklorists have found a new form of working with folk music. This is the method of experimentation in which the conditions and results are not controlled unilaterally by the material to be studied. The role of intuition becomes greater, with the scientist sometimes taking on the role of artist. We could call Leegajus an extraordinary research group which has come into existence as a result of an extreme shortage of authentic folk singers and folk song tradition [Vaike Sarv 1978].

The performances of Leegajus and three records produced by the ensemble attracted increasing attention from the public. Numerous other ensembles emerged to learn and perform traditional folksongs, among them, Hellero (1972), Sõsarõ (1973), and the Lahemaa Ensemble (1975).<sup>22</sup>

While interest in the archaic folk songs grew steadily, there was no massive surge of public activism among the Estonian population, as there had been in Lithuania. Several reasons were offered to me for the relatively small number of Estonian folklore ensembles, as compared to those of the Latvians and Lithuanians. Some Estonians refer to the characteristic Estonian reservedness, which makes people unwilling to sing in the loud style of the songs; others point out that the regivärss texts are often in nonstandard dialects and, perhaps, too difficult for the average member of the public to understand. The absence of support from the Estonian Ministry of Culture and its affiliate, the Folk Art Methodology Center, seems to have played the most important role up to the mid-eighties.<sup>23</sup>

As in Lithuania, the Estonian folk music revival had undeclared connotations of a battle for national survival, and for Estonian independence from Soviet cultural restrictions.

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<sup>22</sup> Tõnn Sarv 1982; Vaike Sarv 1988.

<sup>23</sup> Igor Tõnurist told me that he was summoned to the Ministry of Culture and informed that his work was "nationalist" and contrary to Soviet culture. Veiled threats accompanied that official lecture on acceptable forms of Soviet art.

The repertoire of folklore ensembles did not typically include pieces fitting the propaganda themes which were required of all amateur art, among them the "friendship of nations" (preferably expressed in Russian songs), and praise for the Soviet Socialist state (songs created by Soviet poets and composers). Unwillingness or refusal to perform such materials was interpreted and punished as dissent. The demonstrative occasion for others to consider was provided in August of 1974, when Leigarid travelled to Moscow in order to participate in an all-Soviet competition of amateur art ensembles. After their performance, the ensemble's leaders were invited to a "discussion" (i.e., a lecture) delivered by an administrator at the Soviet Ministry of Culture. They were told that the ensemble's repertoire should be changed to fit the Soviet model, and that Torop should be replaced by a more suitable leader.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The oral lecture was reconstructed by the three representatives of Leigarid —Torop, Tõnu Ruus, and Paavo Saare— immediately after they left Moscow. The account was typed and placed in the ensemble's archives. The text is translated here in its entirety:

(1) At the beginning of your program, you didn't greet the people of Moscow; (2) You had a decoration on stage. I have been to Saaremaa Island, and I know that it was a fence. But not everybody knows this, and you should have explained what it is and why it is there; (3) The title of your program was "Whoever doesn't remember the past, lives without a future." Lenin said something similar. You should have written it as Lenin said it, and written underneath that Lenin said it; (4) [Regarding the poem read at the beginning of the performance:] The silence before the festival! You have silence! What silence are you talking about? Devil take it! When all around, everything is rumbling and reverberating etc.; (5) You did not have Lenin in the program, the Party was not mentioned. Presently it is a time when this is necessary, because anti-Soviet elements still exist; (6) You display only the old, but you should also show contemporary folk creativity. (In response to Torop's remark that we differentiate between modern individual creativity and true folk creativity:) Is this not folk creativity, the works written today by authors! This goes right back to the folk. In the olden days, it was also an individual who wrote (or created) a story. I don't understand what these scholars are thinking when they differentiate like that and don't recognize today's (individual) creativity as folk creativity. Modern creativity employs the very same steps, a person has only two legs and can't invent anything truly new. If it is presented in such beautiful traditional clothes as you have, isn't it folk creativity all the same; (7) I know that your ensemble is talented. I saw how you carried along the audience on Saaremaa Island, and enlivened them. I believe and hope that you are able to learn something modern. The ensemble is only as good as the leader in front of it, comrades scholars; (8) (We gave Comrade Danilova a guest book, in which all of the ensemble members in Moscow had signed their names. Underneath, I wrote the date and "Leigarid" Tallinn): But it isn't written here that the book was given to me. Nobody will believe that this was given to me as a gift. You must write: To L. A. Danilova, for the conversation.

When news of the Moscow evaluation arrived in Estonia, Leigarid's performances outside the Museum were greatly reduced. A planned trip to Sweden was cancelled minutes before the ensemble was to leave. Torop was officially encouraged to resign his position (he refused), and attempts were made to find a new leader (everybody refused the invitations, knowing that Torop would be fired if they accepted). The official disapproval of Leigarid's activities became public knowledge in Estonia, resulting in even more popularity for the ensemble and its leader. Few ventured to create other such ensembles, however, fearing the repercussions which were bound to come from above.

#### Dissident Folklorism in Latvia

The Latvian national renaissance which began several years after Stalin's death saw the founding of two Rīga ensembles in 1957, Saulgrieži and Sakta.<sup>25</sup> The subtle meanings of their performances of stylized folklore were understood by the public, but not formulated in words. Persons who attended the concerts remember that it was known, for example, that a leader of Saulgrieži, Jēkabs Graubiņš (1886-1961), had recently returned from exile in Siberia: Applause for the ensemble expressed moral support for Graubiņš, as well. Social commentary of sorts was expressed by the laughter of the audience at significant phrases performed on stage. During a performance of wedding customs, for example, a guest at the wedding called out to his hosts, "There's no meat! We want meat!," saying out loud what most members of the public did not dare to say in their everyday lives.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> In the same year, another popular ensemble, Ventīn, was founded in Ventspils.

<sup>26</sup> As recalled by Dainis Stalts.

Performances of archaic folklore also played a role in post-war Latvian cultural life. The Alsunga Ethnographic Ensemble, founded on the initiative of a folklore fieldworker in the mid-fifties, performed on stage for the Latvian public.<sup>27</sup> In 1960, the Latvian folklorists in Rīga began plans for a celebration of the traditional culture of Latgale (Eastern Latvia), featuring groups of singers discovered during expeditions in that region.<sup>28</sup> In the same year, however, Latvian society was in turmoil. Nikita Khrushchev had recently ordered the purge of the disobedient leadership of the Latvian Communist Party; repercussions followed in all areas of Latvian political and cultural life (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: 140-146, 172-176). In 1961, Saulgrieži and Sakta were disbanded. The Latgale Culture Days were cancelled shortly before they were to begin. The Latvian national renaissance and folklorism as a popular expression of opposition to Soviet rule came to an abrupt end.

The Soviet purge in Latvia drove a wedge between the Latvian public and the scholarly activities of professional folklorists and ethnographers. The power of the Communist Party over Latvian academe had been demonstrated to scholars during the past decade, when, among others, the internationally renowned philologist, Jānis Endzelīns, and the folklorist, Jānis Alberts Jansons, were expelled from the faculty of the University of Latvia. Dependent on the government for their livelihood, Latvian folklorists could not

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<sup>27</sup> Nasteviča (1990) recounts the earlier activities of the singers of Alsunga, who were first brought to perform in Rīga in 1924. In the fifties and first half of the sixties, the largest number of ethnographic ensembles could be found in Latvia: the Sauna Ethnographic Ensemble (founded 1954), Nīca/Otaņķi (1954), Alsunga (founded 1955 or 1957), Rikava (1955), Aglona (1957), Bērzgale (1958), Auleja (1960), Gudenieki (1965), Jūrkalne (1965), and the Bārta Ethnographic Ensemble (1929, revived in the fifties, and after a ten-year interruption, reestablished in 1968). The Latvian ensembles were located mostly in Southwest and East Latvia, where traditional song cultures continue to exist today. In Lithuania, Šimonių Ethnographic Ensemble (1959) and Kupiškis (1928, reestablished in 1966), were followed by many new ethnographic ensembles initiated by the popular student expeditions of the late sixties, among them, Kalviai (1967), Lazdyniai (1968), and Žiūriai (1970). In Estonia, one of the many Setu ethnographic ensembles is Leiko (1965), and Kihnumaa represents one of the islands.

<sup>28</sup> As recalled by Jānis Rozenbergs, folklorist at the Latvian Folklore Archive.

associate themselves with the public in any way that might even remotely resemble anti-Soviet activities.<sup>29</sup> They continued their work in areas which were allowed— selective fieldwork and publication of approved folklore collections.

During the late sixties, a general tendency toward youth activism diffused from the West into Latvia, and found resonance in a "flower child movement" which emerged at that time. Like the Lithuanian students, the Latvian youths sought a "return to nature," travelling to the countryside and attempting to learn the customs of the preindustrial peasant world (G 1983, Stinkurs 1983). But having no equivalent to the Lithuanian "Local Heritage" Society, and no university faculty or professional folklorists willing to risk their jobs by organizing popular folklore expeditions, the Latvian youth movement remained on the periphery of cultural life in the republic. The folklore movement here was, in effect, nonexistent until a strong impulse came from Latvia's northern neighbors, the Estonians.

Among the Finno-Ugric peoples studied by Estonian linguists and ethnographers since the 1920's were the Livonians, a rapidly disappearing nationality native to the northwestern coast of Latvia. Estonian scholars had always attempted to encourage the maintenance of the Livonian language and culture in the everyday life of the Livs, and in 1972 they helped found the ensemble named Livlist, which means "Livonians" in the Livonian language (Jaunzeme 1987).<sup>30</sup> A smaller group of youths within Livlist, inspired by the Estonian ensembles they had met at performances in Estonia, set out to revive both Livonian and Latvian folksongs in

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<sup>29</sup> Punishment for straying from the permitted path continued into the seventies. A folklorist at the Latvian Folklore Archive recounted to me how she was transferred from her job to insignificant, tedious work in the Academy Library after she attended a Midsummer celebration.

<sup>30</sup> Another Livonian ensemble, Kāndla, was founded in 1970 in Ventspils, a city near the coastal area which was the home of the Livs.

the archaic style. They founded Skandinieki,<sup>31</sup> Latvia's first urban folklore ensemble. The group began touring the Latvian countryside, raising interest in local heritage and folklore, and agitating the public for the creation of groups interested in local heritage and folklore.

At the same time, interest in folklore was growing among the Latvian intelligentsia in Rīga. In the early 1970's, the popular poet Imants Ziedonis was among the most influential authors seeking inspiration in the Latvian dainas. Ziedonis anticipated the rising public interest in ethnographic ensembles in descriptions of his encounter with the singers of West Latvia (Ziedonis 1995, Vol. 2: 189-191, 278-286, 352-356, 368-383). In 1978, the folklorists of the Latvian Academy of Sciences held a celebration of thirty years of folklore expeditions, and brought ethnographic ensembles from many parts of Latvia to a concert in Rīga. This was the first widely publicized presentation of the ethnographic ensembles and their unstylized folksongs on stage in the capital city. A lecture by Arnolds Klotiņš assessed the state of folksong traditions in Latvia at the time (Klotiņš 1978). He did not as of yet mention the single urban folklore ensemble which had been founded in Latvia, Skandinieki; this group was known for the most part only in rural areas. In 1979, Skandinieki performed in Rīga for the first time, and soon attracted attention among the Latvian intelligentsia. The first wave of ensembles in the Latvian folklore movement appeared in the years 1980 and 1981; some, like the "Skandinieki of Madona," were directly inspired by the Rīga ensemble, while others (Dandari) appeared independently.

The ethnographic singing style (commonly called "authentic," as opposed to stylized folklore) was just entering the performances of Latvian folklore ensembles, and, as in

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<sup>31</sup> Skandinieks is a word coined in the 18th century, which is no longer used in its original meaning, "vowel." The contemporary word for "vowels" is patskani, literally, "those which/who resound independently" (Karulis 1992, Vol 2: 26). The word also has undocumented connotations of "minstrels" and "travelling singers."

Lithuania, became the major point of open debate in the confrontation between the folklore ensembles and the cultural establishment. Skandinieki had learned of the style when they watched the performances of Estonian and Lithuanian folklore ensembles, and consulted with the ethnomusicologists and folklorists who led those groups. They were violently attacked by folklorists in the Latvian Academy of Sciences, who denied the existence of such "screaming at the top of one's lungs" among the Latvian peasants of the past (Bendorfs 1986).<sup>32</sup> The attacks were answered by other Latvian folk music specialists, who asserted that the new folklore ensembles were performing in the style formerly practiced by rural singers, not only in Latvia, but throughout East Europe:

The traditional singing style, which has been inherited along with all of folklore, is a reality. I know that not everyone likes it. I wish to emphasize that the unique beauty of the ethnographic singing style may be heard only by persons who do not evaluate it from the point of view of the academic singing style. In general, there is presently a shortage of thorough analyses concerning ethnographic singing. In the absence of such scholarly studies, it is difficult to defend the performers of folklore from the unfounded accusations of "screaming at the top of one's lungs" [Krūmiņš 1986].

As in Lithuania and Estonia, there was a more sinister battle concealed behind the debates over authenticity, folksongs, and the performance of folklore. The folklore ensembles had often strayed across the boundaries of that which was allowed by the Soviet state; they were among the groups and individuals targeted in the final attempts to reestablish the Soviet police state in 1983 and 1984 (cf. Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: 300-301). An indicator of the government's renewed attack on folklore revival and "sentimental romantics" in Latvia was published in the main daily newspaper, Cīņa, in January of 1983:

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<sup>32</sup> The opinions quoted here are among the first published documents of the debate which began in the early eighties in Latvia.



I was born authentically,  
And I died authentically,  
I was buried authentically  
In an authentic grave.

This parody of a folksong was recently recited with regard to the discussions about folklore's place and role in the spiritual life of our society, and about the interpretation of folklore. [...]

Voices are heard calling for consistent "authenticity" in the work of the folklore ensembles, that is, the need to preserve folklore heritage in its "pure" (authentic) form. The consequential result of such a concept is the archaization of folklore, the mechanical repetition of ancient social traditions. We see this in the praxis of several ensembles. [...]

[W]e cannot evaluate folklore heritage from abstractly aesthetic, ethnographic positions; it must be evaluated from the consequential positions of the Party doctrine [Atvars 1983: 2].

The author of the article, believed to be the Minister of Culture writing under a pseudonym, recounted the opinions of Marx and Lenin on reactionary romanticism about feudal society, and concluded that the "naive, and reactionary in essence," "petty bourgeois" folklore revivalists were lacking in Marxist methodology, and in need of studying the classics of scientific Communism and recent Marxist-Leninist theory. The ideological attack was followed by concrete action: Soon afterwards, some folklore ensembles were disbanded (Savieši, Kombuļi), and many others and their leaders were subjected to police harrassment. Although the KGB activities against the folklore movement ceased in early 1986, the attacks from the Ministry of Culture continued for several years afterwards.

A turning point in the Latvian folklore movement occurred in 1985, the 150-year anniversary of the birth of Krišjānis Barons.<sup>1</sup> Throughout that year, in all parts of Latvia, festive events honored the life of the compiler of folksongs, and were usually accompanied by folksongs, dances, and games led by folklore ensembles. At the Latvian National Song

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<sup>1</sup> Krišjānis Barons (1835-1923), compiler of the standard collection of Latvian folksongs, and popularly called the "Father of the Latvian *Dainas*."

Festival that summer, the realization dawned for many that this mass festival had been spoiled by the Soviet government, but that the folklore movement had remained independent:

It seems that the folklore ensembles' morning performance at the Open-Air Museum was closest to creative uniqueness and improvisation. The organizing committee deserves thanks for this, because this event was by its nature the warmest of all commemorations of Krišjānis Barons in his anniversary year. Yes, and in the great concerts in Mežaparks, to the surprise of thousands in the audience, the Father of Dainas was not mentioned, neither in visual form nor in the official (overly so) introductory texts. There was no mention of the person who saved our memory so that we would have anything to sing in Latvian [Peters 1987: 222].

The folklore ensembles, their political significance symbolized by Skandinieki, had gained numerous allies among the Latvian intelligentsia, but the battle for recognition by the cultural administration continued, as shown by vicious criticism from above. An article signed by the head of the Latvian Academy of Sciences attacked the "ancestorishness" (senciskums) and "falsely contrived attempts at authenticity" practiced by Skandinieki and other ensembles. Matters such as these, he wrote, should be left to the professional folklorists. The folklore movement was a mere fashion which would soon pass, but

We, the scholars, will continue the systematic collection and classification, the publication and study, the analysis of the contributions to which Krišjānis Barons devoted his life [Hausmanis 1985].

Also in 1985, significant turning points occurred in the life of folklore ensembles in Lithuania and Estonia. The Lithuanian ensembles were for the first time invited to participate in the National Song Festival, an event traditionally restricted to the classical and stylized performers of songs and dances. In Estonia, an international conference was held where the plans were outlined for the creation of a new folklore festival, Baltica. Inclusion in these mass festivals was a sign that the official attitude toward folklore ensembles was changing.

### Entering the Mainstream: The Baltic Folklore Festivals, 1971-1987

The proliferation of folklore ensembles in Lithuania during the seventies, in Latvia beginning in 1980, and in Estonia toward the second half of the eighties, led to an explosion of concerts throughout the three republics. The regional competitions and festivals, the national festivals, and most recently, the international folklore festival Baltica (first held in 1987) seem on the surface to follow a straight path of evolution from folk tradition to mass tradition, from the activities of small groups to those of large, "imagined communities" of the three nations. And yet, the folklore movement from its beginnings had been based on an opposition to the mass-produced culture sponsored by the Soviet cultural administration. Members of the folklore ensembles sought participatory, creative communities resembling the peasant villages of old, communities which could not be reconciled with a festival oriented to an audience of thousands of passive observers. This inherent tension permeated the development of folklore festivals in all three republics.

In Lithuania, the fundamental differences between mass culture and the culture created by the folklore ensembles were outlined in 1971 by Jonas Trinkūnas: "Folk songs differ from the works of composers by, among other things, the fact that any person can sing them, and the fact that they correspond closely to the essential events in life." One could not apply the same standards of artistic merit to both forms of music, and should not decide on the basis of a highly developed artistic culture that the performances of the folklore ensembles were unfit for public presentation. Folklore ensembles were participatory and inclusive, while the activities of such well-known "folk dance" troupes as Lietuva excluded from the performance all but the most highly trained specialists. Taking a polemic stance, Trinkūnas argued that it was folklore, not mass art, which was the most valuable of the two:

We brag about our many choirs and singing societies, but let's admit it: There are few persons among the choir singers who know folk songs, and even fewer who know how to sing in the folk style. [...] We like to take pride in our folk songs, their beauty, their abundance. But where are they? From several hundred thousand songs you hear only ten or twenty, and these are usually harmonized, arranged, inauthentic. Very few. Why should we hide our wealth? Why should we await the time when it'll be necessary to reconstruct folk songs from written notes or recordings, as was the case with our oldest songs, the *sutartinės*? We live in a time when folk songs are still alive in the villages, when there are thousands of authentic performers. Let us listen to them, let us admire them, let us learn from them! [Trinkūnas 1971: 4].<sup>2</sup>

Trinkūnas suggested that the Lithuanian regional choral song festivals be modified to encompass a more varied program which would include ensembles performing the local folklore of the regions. Such highly successful festivals, wrote Trinkūnas, had been attended by Lithuanian tourists in Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia.

Folklore ensembles did not gain acceptance at the Lithuanian National Song Festival for another decade and a half, but the prototype for subsequent folklore festivals emerged already in 1971, when several ethnographic ensembles from Aukštaitija (Northeast Lithuania) held a competition in Kupiškis. In the following year, an overview performance in Kaišiadorys was attended by sixteen ethnographic ensembles. Other competitions and overview concerts followed, and in 1975 the first interregional ensemble competition was held (Skrodenis 1988: 115-117).

In 1976, the first of the annual folklore festivals in Vilnius, Skamba, skamba kankliai ("The *kanklės* resound"), roughly followed the model of the Soviet mass spectacles. Set on the enormous stage of the outdoor amphitheater at Vingis Park, which has a capacity of roughly 130,000 performers and spectators, the main concert of Soviet folklore dwarfed the handful of smaller folklore ensembles which had been selected to perform. An observer at

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<sup>2</sup> See also Mataitienė and Mataitis 1969: 9, and Poškaitis 1970: 4.

that festival later questioned the need for such a massive setting: "There were probably few among the organizers who realized that the smaller ensembles might better have performed in the city squares, with smaller audiences, not necessarily before a tribunal of thousands."

After the formal program ended, the amphitheater dissolved into an "unofficial festival" which left a strong positive impression on the same observer:

A festival is not a festival, [...] if people only come together, watch for a while, then part. There was a true feeling of celebration after the concert ended, when the dancers caught members of the audience by the arm and led them into a circle. [...] Later, all who weren't lazy went onto the field, and they danced and sang until midnight. [...] We wish that such festivals would become a tradition [Girnius 1976: 6].

In 1979, Skamba, skamba kankliai moved to the Vilnius Old Town, where the folklore ensembles gave multiple performances scattered throughout the small, intimate courtyards. The change to this setting, though it was more appropriate for folklore, left another observer again unsatisfied in 1983:

Both the performers and audience were saddened to hear that the concerts would take place at the same time in eight different locations. In the future, wouldn't it be better to allow the performers to become at least minimally familiar with the performances of the other collectives? [Sliužinskas 1983: 12].

Many subsequent Baltic folklore festivals have struggled to solve the problems inherent in both types of performances — an enjoyment of participation as opposed to a widespread interest in listening and learning about others. The dilemma is usually reconciled at festivals with a combination of smaller concerts outdoors or in small indoor settings which feature one or a few groups, and concerts held either in massive concert halls or outdoor amphitheaters, at which many ensembles perform a few pieces each (cf. Lapé 1985, Gudaitė 1986).

In Lithuania, folklore festivals were born in many different parts of the republic, in both rural and urban settings. In 1980, a biannual festival and ensemble competition was established at the Lithuanian Folklife Museum in Rumšiškės. This republic-wide competition

was attended by 41 ensembles and 90 individual performers, with a total of 1,072 participants. It was followed by a methodological seminar for the leaders of folklore ensembles, establishing a scholarly basis for the further activities of the ensembles throughout the republic (Skrodenis 1988: 117-119). Beginning in the first half of the eighties, less formal "spring celebrations" (featuring Shrovetide traditions) also attracted thousands of performers and spectators to the Folklife Museum.

In Latvia, a folk music concert at the national song festival of 1980 may be considered to be one of the first officially organized festive events to attract folklore ensembles from all parts of the republic. In addition to the planned program, a session of improvised singing (apdziedāšanās, a "war of songs") was attempted here. The most widely attended folklore performances, however, began around 1980 with little prompting from the official cultural administration, at the June Gada tirgus ("annual market") in the Ethnographic Open-Air Museum on the outskirts of Riga. Craftsmen and folk artists from the different regions of Latvia gathered here to display and sell their wares, attracting an audience that was interested in traditional arts and crafts. This audience was also receptive to the music of the folklore ensembles who gathered and performed of their own accord.

The first signs of official recognition that Latvian ethnographic and folklore ensembles should have a government-sponsored festival appeared in 1981: In May, several ensembles were prominently featured among the choirs and other performers at a celebration in Ogre; in June, the Annual Market at the Open-Air Museum in Rīga attracted a much larger number of folklore performers than in earlier years; a "Day of Latgale Folklore" in Rēzekne featured twenty ethnographic ensembles from Eastern Latvia. These events were riding the crest of the first wave of new Latvian ensembles founded in 1980 and 1981 (Spilners 1982). The cultural administration soon attached itself to the movement which it had not initiated.

From October 30 to November 2, 1981, the Latvian Writers' Union, together with several other administrative organizations, sponsored "Folklore Days" in honor of the 125-year anniversary of the Latvian composer and scholar of folksongs, Andrejs Jurjāns (1856-1922). Fourteen ensembles from Latvia, and visiting groups from Moscow, Vilnius, and Tartu, performed on several of the most prestigious stages in Rīga— the main halls of the State Conservatory, the Rīga Polytechnical Institute, and the University of Latvia. The Writers' Union organized a discussion of "The Present Goals and Problems of Folklore Propaganda," beginning an open debate which continued in the Latvian newspapers. The musicologist Arnolds Klotiņš wrote an introduction to the program, laying the foundations for an ideological defense of the folklore movement:

Jurjāns collected, systematized, studied, and published folk melodies. He arranged them for choral performance, under the influence of contemporary musical stylistics and his own artistic creativity, and in the process, he created the basic principles of our professional creative interpretation of folk music. Many of his arrangements are still performed today in the choral culture.

But along with these activities, Jurjāns also dreamed of returning to the nation the materials which it itself had created, as close as possible to the original forms, without transformation by professionals. In 1896, he became the musical director of the first Latvian ethnographic performance. This method of folklore heritage propaganda is the aspect of Jurjāns's work which the Folklore Days wish to continue and affirm [Klotiņš 1981].

A subtle gesture at the Latvian Ministry of Culture may be detected when Klotiņš introduced the visiting ensembles and pointed out that folklore revival received more support from government agencies in other parts of the Soviet Union:

In many Soviet republics, this type of folklore event has stronger traditions, a broader scope, and greater experience than in Latvia. For this reason, we have invited guest ensembles from Moscow, Tartu, and Vilnius [Klotiņš 1981].<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The Pokrovskii Ensemble from Moscow, Hellero from Tartu (Estonia), and the Vilnius University Student Folklore Ensemble.

During the following winter, the Folk Art and Methodology Center of the Latvian Ministry of Culture held regional concerts of folklore and ethnographic ensembles, selecting 24 groups to perform at the first republic-wide folklore festival, held in Aizpute in July of 1982. An opening concert in the local Hall of Culture was followed by celebrations and performances outdoors, in various settings (see the festival program, *Liepājas Rajona Kultūras Nodaļa* 1982). Though the festival was considered to be a great success by viewers and participants alike, five years passed before the Folk Art Center sponsored the second republic-wide folklore festival in Sigulda, attended by approximately fifty ensembles (Vilceniece 1984; Krievāne and Krieviņš 1987).

The years between these two events saw a steadily growing number of performers at various events in the relatively informal setting of the Open-Air Museum in Rīga, at the Annual Markets of folk art and, most memorably of all, the celebration of Krišjānis Barons in 1985. These unofficial gatherings of ensembles hosted by the Museum (not the events organized by the government cultural administration) gave the strongest public stimulus to the growing Latvian folklore movement. Each of the homesteads in the Museum provided a natural enclosure for folklore performances. Latvian musicians had learned the call popular at Lithuanian folklore festivals, "Dancers choose nondancers!," which immediately doubled the number of dancers, and eventually involved all persons present —members of ensembles or not— in the folklore performance.

In Estonia, folk music activities increased in the mid-eighties, and preparations were made for the first Estonian folklore festival. There had already been a wave of festivals featuring traditional instrumental music in the seventies; precedents for a folklore festival had been observed in the neighboring republics of Latvia and Lithuania, where Estonian ensembles had performed a number of times. The inspiration for organizing the first folklore



festival in Estonia, however, came from abroad, when the Rakvere folk dance group, Tarvanpää, visited a folklore festival in Czechoslovakia. In an article reporting on the festival, Rein Sikk praised the Czech and Slovak success in having folklore ensembles meet among themselves, and called for a similar festival in Estonia. The leader of the "Tarvanpää" dance group, Maie Orav, became head organizer of the first Viru säru festival,<sup>4</sup> a two-day event on July 5-6, 1986. This festival shunned all trappings associated with mass cultural events such as the song festivals. Performances by about a dozen Rakvere region folklore ensembles in four different parts of Lahemaa National Park were followed by evening concerts of numerous other groups. Children's ensembles performed on the next day, and a small parade wound around the park to the final concert (Vaike Sarv 1986).

Located at a two-hour drive from Tallinn, the activities of Viru säru were isolated from the general public. Instead of centering around performances which aimed at bringing in new participants, the Estonian festival focused on occasions for folklore ensembles to meet and perform among themselves. In her report on the second Viru säru, held in 1987, Ingrid Rüütel formulated a philosophical foundation for the Estonian folklore festival:

This was a festival without official pomposity, where young and old, children and adults, performers, organizers, and guests, all melted into one happy whole, a celebration that ties the past to the present and gives strength for the future.

Interest in folklore is growing throughout the world, wrote Rüütel. Feelings of alienation accumulate along with the growth of modern industrial societies, until "the ring is complete," and in reaction people strive to find a sense of belonging to a place and a history. Folklore festivals must fill this need, providing a place where people from all walks of life could communicate on a simple level of understanding (Rüütel 1987).

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<sup>4</sup> The word, säru, denotes a rural dance, while Viru refers to Virumaa, the northeastern district of Estonia in which the festival took place.

### The International Folklore Festival "Baltica," 1987-1991

In the mid-eighties, the government of the USSR began exploring new ways of building contacts with Western cultural organizations. Foundations for the first international (Soviet and Western) folklore festival were laid in Tallinn in 1985, at the conference of the International Council of Folklore Festival Organizations (CIOFF, founded in 1970, is an affiliate of UNESCO). The conference delegates were treated to concerts by, among other groups, the Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir, an Estonian ensemble of medieval music, and, at a specially arranged Midsummernight's Eve celebration in Lahemaa Park, the folksongs of Leegajus, Leigarid, and the Lahemaa Folklore Ensemble.<sup>5</sup> Philip Conroy, the CIOFF General Secretary, remarked at the closing of the conference that

it was interesting to hear about the continuance of folk art in various countries. You have a great advantage as compared to us, since in the Soviet Union there is a greater awareness of the value and importance of folk art—and the government has allocated generous resources for its preservation and continuance [Velliste 1985: 2].

Conference members from abroad were given information about folklore and amateur art activities in the USSR, and repeatedly reminded that it was the Soviet government which, more than any other governments, embraced folklore and national or ethnic diversity:

The development of folk art in the USSR has been assisted by the State, which is legislatively consolidated in the Constitution of the USSR, documents of the CPSU government.<sup>6</sup>

In the discussions concerning the first CIOFF-associated international folklore festival to be held in the Soviet Union, the decision was made to hold an annual festival, which was

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<sup>5</sup> "CIOFF-i peasamblee Tallinnas," Sirp ja Vasar (5 July 1985): 6.

<sup>6</sup> A copy of the mimeographed, eight-page article, "Folklore in the Soviet Union," was saved in Kristin Kuutma's personal archive.

given the name Baltica, alternately in one of the three republics: Lithuania in 1987, Latvia in 1988, Estonia in 1989, and again Lithuania in 1990. In 1986, an official decree from the USSR Ministry of Culture in Moscow formally initiated the organizing activities, stressing the propaganda nature of the festival:

With the purposes of propagating the Leninist national and cultural policies of the Soviet government, the maintenance and development of folk art traditions, the broadening of cultural collaboration with foreign countries in the area of folklore, in order to strengthen friendship and mutual understanding among nations: The festival, "Baltica," is to be founded in the republics of the Soviet Baltic, with the participation of collectives and performers from abroad....<sup>7</sup>

In agreeing to hold the folklore festival in the Baltic, the Soviet government apparently hoped to channel the growing popular appeal of the three unofficial Baltic folklore movements into a path that could be more easily controlled and exploited. The official program of "Baltica '87," and debates in the organizational meetings of the second festival indicate that the central government did not wish to support "the definition, identification, conservation, preservation, dissemination and protection of traditional culture and folklore" in the sense understood by UNESCO and CIOFF,<sup>8</sup> but rather, that Moscow hoped to organize a mass propaganda event which would declare Soviet support for international friendship and ethnic harmony while keeping the Baltic folklore ensembles and their form of performance under strict control. The central plans were to be executed by the local cultural administration of the three republics.

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<sup>7</sup> Ministerstvo kul'tury SSSR. Prikaz No 241, 05.06.86, Moskva. Ob uchrezhdenii festivalia folklora "Baltika" v respublikakh Sovetskoi Pribaltiki. Mimeographed, five-page document in the files of the Estonian Folk Art Center.

<sup>8</sup> "Unesco: steps to safeguard traditional culture," Entre Nous: Newsletter from the Conseil international des organisations de festivals de folklore et d'arts traditionnels (April 1990): 1.

As in the postwar years when the first Soviet song festivals were organized, the Moscow decree of 1986 was followed by a two-sided flurry of activities in the three republics: "from above," the cultural administrators began plans for a festival in the conventional tradition of Soviet folklore, but "from below" came the ever-increasing popularity of the nonconformist, culturally independent folklore ensembles. To ensure massive public participation at the festival, the folklore ensembles were allowed into portions of the official program. It was these ensembles, and their songs and dances continuing through the nights, which most impressed the visitors from outside Lithuania and made the first "Baltica" festival a great success.

The festival brought to Lithuania three hundred performers from outside the Soviet Union (USA, France, the GDR, Sweden, Poland, and Hungary), 400 more from the RSFSR, Belarus, Latvia and Estonia, which all performed together with 2500 persons from Lithuania, among them 500 members of folklore ensembles. The five-day festival began with concerts in the Vilnius Old Town courtyards, familiar to all participants of Lithuanian folklore festivals in the past. A day at the Rumšiškės Folklife Museum was closed to the general public; visitors from outside Lithuania were treated to the regional foods and music of Lithuania, set in the museum homesteads of those regions. Films and newspaper accounts report the friendly interaction that took place at all of these events.<sup>9</sup> It is the four massive closing concerts of the festival, however, which are recalled most often by participants today.

These shows began with a ten-minute performance by Lithuanian ethnographic ensembles, followed by a spectacular array of stylized, ballet-like dances and contemporary song arrangements performed by the official song and dance troupes. The endless rehearsals

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<sup>9</sup> Several Latvians recalled their meetings with the Breton musicians, who were called "French" in all official programs and announcements, but themselves refused to carry the French flag.

and long waits in line before brief, ten-minute performances left little time for meeting and international friendship among the various ensembles. The true "Baltica '87" began at night in the dormitories where the ensembles were housed, a participant from Latvia remarked, and the spirit of folklore was best expressed when

the musicians traded off and played until dawn, and members of the ensembles danced with the Vilnius youth. Those who didn't want to dance, took their instruments and went up to some room where they played, sang, and understood each other perfectly well without words. "Single-night folklore ensembles" formed there, usually among the Latvians and Lithuanians [Reizniece 1988b].

It became clear that the performances of the officially-sanctioned Soviet folklore ensembles did not belong in a folklore festival of the sort supported by the participants from outside the USSR. The four great festival concerts, which were held in "an amphitheater of olympic proportions with amplifiers, spotlights, and pedestrian traffic regulators," were not in any way related to folk songs, wrote another Latvian critic (Bērziņa 1987). Helge Bernsten, the official representative of CIOFF, expressed disappointment that the festival had not emphasized the "everyday folklore" which his organization attempts to preserve and support. Bernsten remarked that a number of ensembles at the festival were "beautiful, very good, but their performances were far from folklore" (Kligytė and Apanavičius 1987). Asked by a Latvian journalist to evaluate "Baltica '87," Bernsten answered with carefully chosen, tactful words:

An evaluation depends on the scope of the festival. The more performers there are, the more interesting it is for the audience. The folklore performers, however, have less time, they lose opportunities for contact among themselves. Yes, I liked the festival. Especially the part where anyone who wanted to sing or dance could do so without difficulty. The theatrical part - that's something else. The festival accomplished the seemingly impossible, but whether I myself would organize a festival like this - that's another matter altogether. The main thing is that everyone could be together [Bernstens 1987].

Strong criticism of the festival appeared in most of the Baltic newspapers, which were gradually beginning to test the limits of the "openness" (glasnost) in public discourse decreed by Mikhail Gorbachev. The organizing committee for Baltica '88, to be held in Latvia, could no longer work free from the scrutiny of the public. The committee soon split into two, with one side made up of the conservative administrators from the pre-reform "period of stagnation" who supported only stylized folklore, and the other side consisting of supporters of the folklore movement.

Various methods were employed. When the ideological arguments (which are not as effective nowadays as they once were) had been used up, G. Pelēkais evoked barriers on grounds of festival logistics. It was categorically announced that our plans could not realistically be realized. Experts were called in. "Theirs" and "ours." The best sound technicians in the republic were called in. Proofs were given, demonstrations provided. When these barricades fell, G. Pelēkais employed another mode of attack, this time, psychological. During the meeting with the Minister of Culture, J. Barkāns, he attempted to attack the self-esteem of the two program directors [Pēteris Pētersons and Māra Zālīte], by announcing that nobody had invited us to the meeting, and that it would be better if we were to resign from our positions, and by making us feel how undesirable we were. Polite people, when they are shown the door, usually leave through that door. We stayed, because we knew that all of the folklore ensembles would follow us through that door [Zālīte 1988: 3].

The conservatives stood firmly behind the assertion that, from the scholarly point of view, the activities of the folklore ensembles could not be called "authentic folklore," and were therefore simply art of poor quality, undeserving of support at an international festival. The ethnomusicologist Arnolds Klotiņš broke the ranks of the academic organization, however, and spoke out in defense of the folklore ensembles, justifying their activities with arguments based on current Russian folklorism scholarship (Klotiņš 1988).

The task of moderating fell to the chair of the committee, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, who was at that time the Ideology Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party.<sup>10</sup> A participant at the meetings (unfortunately, no minutes were recorded), recalled that, whenever a conflict arose, a meeting was called with Gorbunovs; he would listen to both sides of the argument, then decide in favor of the persons who represented unstylized folklore. The final decision of the organizing committee, as reported by Liāna Ose, was that the festival would highlight the Latvian folklore ensembles and ethnographic ensembles, but that other performers would not be automatically disqualified from participation. The committee would then be following the guidelines of CIOFF, which strictly distinguished between stylized performances of folklore and those which were close to the folk tradition (Ose quoted by Lancere 1988).

The organizers of "Baltica '88" had now joined the folklore movement outright. The festival was still to be a very large event of international scope, but there was to be nothing like the mass "ethnoshow" which dominated Baltica in Vilnius. Instead, the performances from July 13 to July 17 were diffused throughout Latvia, in Sigulda, Ikšķile, Jelgava, Saulkrasti, Bauska, Jūrmala, Cēsis, Ogre, and Limbaži. A single opening concert in the Rīga Sports Stadium featured the international ensembles and some of the Latvian groups, but even this concert, it was hoped, would be made more intimate by the absence of the massive dance displays of the usual Soviet festivals.

Baltica '88 achieved popular success to an extent not anticipated by even the most optimistic of the organizers. That summer, the new freedom from government censorship at public assemblies brought about a flood of mass demonstrations calling for national rights. The Baltica festival procession, the first post-World War II procession in Rīga to be led by

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<sup>10</sup> Two years later, Gorbunovs was elected Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, and in 1993, he became the Chairman of the Saeima (Parliament of Latvia).

the maroon-white-maroon flag of the independent republic of Latvia, broke from the traditional route of Soviet parades in order to pass the Latvian Liberty Monument. The ensembles singing and playing as they walked along, the cheering audience, and the realization that there was a true possibility for political change made the procession the culmination of the festival in the memories of many participants (e.g., Reizniece 1988b). Unplanned in the Baltica program, but following the precedent set by the festival procession, was the mass ceremony on July 16 marking the "rehabilitation" of the Latvian national flag. The festival continued throughout the week, with informal dancing and singing in the streets from dusk to dawn. An Estonian participant noted the "essential change of attitude towards folklore" which had taken place at Baltica '88, as the organizers turned away from the typical Soviet festival format:

Farmers complain about the unwholesome character of large-scale farming, industrial leaders about the threat the all-Union institutions constitute. And [in the same way], one cannot deepen spiritual culture in the form of mass festivals! The natural space for personality development is to be looked for from parties of human scale not from mammoth concerts [Vaike Sarv 1989].

The year 1989 saw the beginnings of collapse in the centralized Soviet administrative structures. Censorship of the mass media ceased, and the freedom of public assembly was appropriated by hundreds of thousands of people in political demonstrations. Among the many new Baltic organizations which were born at the time were three folklore societies, each representing one of the republics hosting the Baltica festival. On April 15, the three societies founded the Baltica Association, which applied for membership in CIOFF as an entity



independent of the USSR delegation.<sup>11</sup> The CIOFF and UNESCO declarations regarding endangered cultures of the world provided a theme for the next Baltica festival in Estonia.

The Estonian organizers of the third Baltica, held in Tallinn in July, 1989, opted for a less spectacular festival, one that would not attract an audience as large as that of 1988. The Estonians chose to highlight many nations of the Soviet Union that were smaller than their own, inviting representatives of the Finno-Ugric cultures to the festival. While the Estonians, a relatively small nation themselves, had managed to maintain some cultural autonomy under the Soviet government, many of these performers and ensembles were struggling for cultural survival in the face of complete Russian domination. A Latvian reporter at the festival commented, "this Finno-Ugric accent broadened the meaning of the festival, bringing more attention to the fate and culture of numerically small nations" (Kärkliņa 1989). Ingrid Rüütel, an organizer of the 1989 festival, pointed out that the basic goal of the folklore ensembles is not to perform on stage, but to help people find their identity, to reconstruct the consistency of tradition and preserve it:

We will not organize grand spectacles and pompous shows, as this is not relevant to folklore, at least in our region. We do not aim at commercial profit, nor do we want to stage a demonstration of Soviet international friendship. Baltica '89 attempts to be a folklore festival in the real sense of the word — orientated to man, to the inner values of folklore, to preservation of cultural traditions rather than the exterior and spectacular [Rüütel 1989: 4].

The festival did not emphasize Estonian culture alone, but raised instead the problem of "national and cultural pluralism as the main basis of the richness and multiplicity of the world culture as a whole" (Rüütel 1990).

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<sup>11</sup> The Executive Board and Legal Commission of CIOFF decided to support the application, which was seconded by delegates from the Nordic countries, despite the fact that the organization's statute allowed membership only to independent countries (i.e. members of the United Nations). Overriding the protests of the Soviet delegation, *Baltica* was granted CIOFF membership by the Council's general assembly in September of 1990 (Rüütel 1991: 4).

Baltica '89 did not attract the public in massive numbers, as the two previous festivals had done. The festival procession, for example, received a rather sparse audience, to the dismay of an Estonian observer (Sikk 1989). A joke told to me at various times by several Estonians and a Lithuanian described the situation, as they saw it, of folklore festivals in Tallinn: "How do the Estonians organize a folklore festival?" — "They invite the Lithuanians and Latvians to Tallinn to dance for them!" The tradition of dancing in the streets and courtyards which dominated Lithuanian festivals in Vilnius, and which was, to a lesser extent, taken up also by the Latvians, found little precedent or public support in the Estonian capital city. Nor did the participants at Estonian folklore festivals have an established home in the Open-Air Museum on the outskirts of Tallinn, as the Latvians did in Rīga. The essential character of the Estonian festival lay, not in massive public celebrations, but in relatively formal, smaller concerts attended by an audience intent on listening and learning about the regional traditions of Estonia and the folklore of visiting nations.

Baltica was to have returned to Vilnius, Lithuania, in the summer of 1990. Early that year, the first largeley democratic, multiparty elections in the Soviet Union brought into office a Lithuanian government which declared the republic's independence, bringing about a Soviet blockade of the Lithuanian economy. The resulting shortage of gasoline, together with the difficulty of obtaining Soviet visas for participants from the West, made the logistics of the international folklore festival nearly impossible, and in late June the organizing committee decided to cancel the festival.<sup>12</sup> The Lithuanian Ministry of Culture mustered all available resources into the National Song Festival, originally planned as a week-long celebration, but now reduced to three days, July 6 to July 8. One of those three days, however, was devoted

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<sup>12</sup> As recounted during interviews in autumn, 1991, by Aldona Ragevičienė and Zita Kelmickaitė.

entirely to the ethnographic and folklore ensembles of Lithuania, which once again filled the streets and courtyards of Old Town Vilnius with folk songs and dances.

The Baltica '91 Festival in Latvia began by setting a precedent for subsequent Latvian festivals in Rīga. Just as the festival procession of 1988 had been the first officially organized procession to pass the Liberty Monument since World War II, so the Baltica procession of 1991 was the first to conclude at the Monument.<sup>13</sup> The festival began in the Open-Air Museum, with the lighting of a ritual fire, accompanied by the singing of magical charms. This was the first Baltica at which a large-scale public demonstration of a non-Christian religious ceremony was held. A large number of performing groups had arrived at this festival from West Europe, as a result of the new ease of crossing the Soviet borders. The theme of the festival —family and home— appeared in many variations in the performances of the Latvian ensembles. Among the performers and spectators at the festival, comparison was inevitable with the Baltica which took place in Latvia three years earlier. It was often remarked that the mass euphoria of 1988 could not be repeated; the size of the audience, it was said, was much smaller than three years ago, and there were fewer dancers at the informal evening celebrations. For me, an observer who had not been present in July of 1988, the festival was alive with activity, and the substantial showing of ensembles from all regions of the republic indicated that the folklore movement was on solid footing in contemporary Latvian culture.

The political confrontation with the Soviet Union was heavy in the air; there were no signs at the time that independence would come only a month and a half after Baltica '91 had ended. Since January that year, tensions had been rising as the special Soviet military forces

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<sup>13</sup> The festival processions of the National Song Festivals of 1990 and 1993 followed the courses set, respectively, by the Baltica '88 and Baltica '91 processions.

(OMON) staged surprise attacks on the unarmed Baltic border control posts (Shortly after the festival, an OMON unit executed six Lithuanian border guards at Medininkai). In the festival program, Ingrid Rüütel, the President of the Baltica Association, wrote about the role of folk culture in Baltic politics:

...it is quite remarkable that traditional culture, i.e. folk songs and folk dances have continuously accompanied the undertakings of the independence movement of all the Baltic nations; and thereby not only as organized group performances but also as spontaneous self-expressions of the people. We, the small nations of the Baltic countries can not rely on physical force. For us of greatest importance is our intellectual composure and inward superiority even in the most difficult situations. The Baltic nations confront military force and the arms with persistence, strength of soul and feeling of solidarity, which are invigorated and deepened with the help of our songs and dances.

Even if some day the door to the family of free European nations is opened for us, the traditional folk culture is still going to be of important and lasting value for us in order to retain and safeguard our national as well as cultural identity [Rüütel 1991: 4-5].

The Baltica festivals reveal differences in the character of folklore revival in the three republics. Lithuanians enjoy large gatherings of singers and dancers that are kept in order by the voices of powerful lead singers or the instrumental mastery of musicians. Latvians spotlight relatively orderly demonstrations of overt political significance, be it in the form of the festival procession, a tradition of high symbolic importance in Rīga (Carpenter 1993), or in lengthy speeches at mass gatherings, or in a dramatic public event such as the lighting of a great circle of flame at the opening of Baltica '91. The Estonians shun both mass celebration and overt political demonstration, but maintain the feature that is common to folklore festivals in all three republics: A concern for the maintenance of folk music traditions in inclusive groups based on face-to-face communication, as close as possible to those of the rural communities of past centuries.

## The Baltic Folklore Movement

On September 1, 1991, thousands of Lithuanians gathered on the Song Festival grounds in Vilnius, to celebrate the independence which had suddenly become a political reality. Three folklore ensembles led off the performance on stage: the Vilnius University Folklore Ensemble, Ratilio; the Estonian group from Tallinn, Leegajus; and Skandinieki from Latvia. After an Estonian song, Igor Tõnurist, leader of Leegajus, read from a written piece of paper as he addressed the audience in its native Lithuanian language:

The ancient Estonian song which we just sang teaches us: Don't argue among yourselves, sisters! Look at the forest: one tree is taller than the other, another tree has rotted a bit, one birch is more crooked than the other trees. But do they hate each other, do they laugh at the other trees' branches? All of the branches murmur and bow in the wind together!

The ancient folk wisdom has proven to be useful to us, as well. The three Baltic trees were bent by the storm from the East, but the trees withstood the storm. Let us hope that we will never again experience new storms from the East, and that we will live as we wish.

Of the three Baltic trees, the Lithuanian is the strongest, and because of this it was its fate to experience the most misfortune. But the tree did not break. Thank you for your strength! Strength and much vitality to you, dear Lithuania!<sup>14</sup>

The folklore movement developed differently in each of the three Baltic republics, but, from the very beginning, it was also a common Baltic movement. Influences and ideas continually crossed the national borders. Most powerful of all was the impulse which the massive Lithuanian movement exerted on Estonian and Latvian folklore activists: Igor Tõnurist awoke to the idea that he should sing Estonian songs as a student in Moscow, when he met and heard young singers from Lithuania. He accompanied his Lithuanian colleagues on their folklore expeditions, and consulted with them often on matters of folklore performance; already in the early seventies, Leegajus established a lasting friendship with the

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<sup>14</sup> The text of the speech is from Tõnurist's personal files.

Lithuanian ensemble, Sadaujia, and the two groups hosted each other's concerts in Tallinn and Vilnius. Many Latvians also speak of travelling to Lithuanian folklore festivals in order to replenish their energy and love for song and dance. The leaders of Skandinieki found in Lithuania the professional advice they needed in problems of ethnomusicology, at a time when Latvian folklorists did not associate with them. Lithuanian friends also gave them practical support in their battle, for example, by organizing Skandinieki concerts for the Lithuanian Communist Party and eliciting positive reviews from high-ranking government officials, at a time when governmental agencies in Latvia were attacking the ensemble at every chance.

Influences also arrived in Lithuania from its two northern neighbors. The Estonians were first to revive the playing of bagpipes— a musical instrument which is today common in Latvian and Lithuanian ensembles. Likewise, the Latvians were first to discover craftsmen who knew how to make and play the kokle; the revival of this craft and art soon diffused into Lithuania, as well. In the early eighties, the Latvians left a strong impression on Lithuanian ensembles. Many recall the first performances by Skandinieki in Vilnius, when they were struck by the fact that this ensemble did not merely perform music, but was living a life based on folklore. The traditional, handmade apparel worn by Skandinieki, the rites of passage and calendrical customs which they performed both on and off the stage, were emulated by many Lithuanian folklore ensembles.

The Latvian and Estonian folklore movements were also intertwined from the very beginning. Empathizing with the fate of the endangered Livonian culture in Latvia, Estonian linguists and folklorists encouraged the creation of the first Livonian folksong ensembles, from which emerged the leading Latvian ensemble, Skandinieki. The first concert by Leegajus in Rīga (reported by Stumbre 1979) is still remembered by several Latvians as a powerful stimulus to the idea that folksongs must be sung in the traditional manner.

These are but a few examples of events during the two decades of friendship and cooperation among the leaders of the Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian folklore movements. Strong personal friendships led to a common purpose and organizational unity in April of 1989, when the Baltica Association was founded. This was the first official pan-Baltic organization of any kind to appear in the post-perestroika national renaissance.<sup>15</sup> When the Association was granted membership in CIOFF in 1990, it became the first Baltic organization to gain an international organization's recognition of independence from the USSR (Rüütel 1991: 4). Folklore had created bonds of friendship among members of the three nations, with political consequences tightly bound to the processes hastening the end of the Soviet state.

#### The Baltic Folklore Movement as a Movement of Small Groups

Beginning already at the first Baltica in 1987, but especially following the explosion of dancing and singing in the streets in 1988, Baltica transformed the Baltic folklore festival from the Soviet model— that of a large-scale spectacle watched by a passive audience— to a festival which attracted active, massive public participation. Along with all other national symbols which sprang up at every concert, the flags of the independent Baltic republics declared, visibly, that this was a national festival which rejected Soviet leadership in cultural life. The same symbolism was once again ascribed to folksongs.

Unlike the mass festivals of the earlier Soviet era, texts which must be read "between the lines" in order to see the true public sentiment, Baltica brought the ideas of independence

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<sup>15</sup> A month later, in May of 1989, the Baltic Assembly was founded by the Latvian Popular Front, the Estonian Popular Front, and the Lithuanian organization, *Sąjūdis*.

out into the open. Models for this festival had emerged in the smaller folklore festivals of the early eighties, and these festivals, in turn, built upon the activities of the ensembles which began the folklore movement. It was the movement's rejection of official culture which made it popular among the Baltic population. Attempts to steer the festival "from above" into the structures of Soviet folklorism were unsuccessful because the folklore performances which were most popular —the improvised singing and dancing which merged performers and audiences— turned out to be immune to censorship and government planning.

This chapter has presented a history of the folklore movement, a liberating, widespread movement which dramatically changed public culture in the three Baltic republics. These events are usually left unmentioned in histories of the events which led to the Baltic independence movements. Historians must seek the roots of the Singing Revolution in the folklore movement, from which the mass activism of the late 1980's emerged.

The folklore movement was a massive cultural movement, but its strength did not lie in the masses of the collective national community. It was, like the national movements which emerged in the nineteenth century, a "movement of societies" (Düding 1987, cf. Karu 1985), a mosaic of many small groups —folklore ensembles— which developed new forms of folklore performance. The following chapter will enter three leading folklore ensembles, to explore songs and singing in these small communities, and their relation to the national identity which mobilizes national movements.



PHOTOGRAPHS, CHAPTER THREE



12. *Skamba, skamba kankliai* Folklore Festival, Alumnatas Courtyard, Old Town Vilnius, Lithuania, 27 May 1992.



13. *Baltica 91* procession by the Liberty Monument, Riga, Latvia, 11 July 1991. Behind the Festival flag is the flag of CIOFF (International Council of Folklore Festival Organizations) and the flags of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.



14. *Baltica 92* Festival procession, Pikk Street, Old Town Tallinn, Estonia, 16 July 1992.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THREE FOLKSONG COMMUNITIES: RATILIO, LEEGAJUS, SKANDINIEKI

Between the masses of a nation and the individual members of that nation lie groups within which individual and national identities are mediated and synthesized. These small-scale patriotic organizations scattered throughout the national territory provide the national movement with a means of local activism that transforms passive individuals into active participants in the nation. This chapter describes the activities of three such organizations, and through descriptive examples argues that such small groups must be included in theoretical models describing the rise and spread of nationalism.

Large, widely based social movements often have a very loose organizational structure, with many different groups cooperating in pursuit of some common goal. Within these groups, personal, face-to-face contact facilitates the recruitment of new members, maintains solidarity for the cause, and eludes the control of hostile forces from outside the group. Some broader formal structure is needed for a movement to succeed on the mass level, but the movement is strongest when this structure is minimal, enabling leaders of each group to adapt and innovate as they recruit new members and expand the social base of the movement (Oberschall 1993: 25-31).

The loose, grass-roots foundations which promote successful mass movements are often neglected by scholars of nationalism, who instead look to impersonal, centralized, homogenizing forces which, it is thought, mobilize the uniform millions of the nation.

Anderson (1991), for example, stresses the importance of the print media in the emergence of national movements; Gellner (1983) concentrates on industrial production and its complement, a national educational system, as bringers of national unity. Hobsbawm demonstrates how national identities form when class identity is manipulated by governments or other political entities. These models either do not discuss the individual members of a nation, or present simplistic models, for example, of individuals who acquire feelings of national allegiance because it gives financial gain or offers them a vehicle for expressing the pain of economic disadvantage (cf. Gellner 1983: 58-62).

Some studies of nationalism in Central and East Europe display a different view of the national movement. Miroslav Hroch (1986), for example, has noted the importance of patriotic societies as the vehicles of national sentiment. Dieter Düring is particularly emphatic in his description of nineteenth century German nationalism as a "movement of societies" (1987). Baltic historians often agree that the establishment of community organizations —choirs, various cultural or educational societies, social welfare societies, and even farmers' cooperatives— was a significant step in the spread of the organized national movements during the 19th and early 20th century (von Rauch 1974:7-8; Senn 1959: 11-12; Raun 1991: 74-77; Plakans 1995: 97). These were small, locally based groups in which the ideas of national identity were passed to an ever-widening circle of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians.

In the recent Baltic national movements, such grass-roots groups once again played an important role. The "non-formal" organizations which sprang up in the three republics after 1985 were a major force of political transformation. A few historians refer to the impact of these groups as they emerged on the local level (Plakans 1991: 260, Dreifelds 1989: 91, Vardys 1989: 61), but most descriptions of the "nonformal" movement concentrate on the

national organizations<sup>1</sup> which brought unity among the multicolored array of locally based societies (cf. Raun 1991, Senn 1991, Taagepera 1989, and Pavlov 1990).

Although the Baltic organizations flowed in the currents of Soviet government policy after 1985,<sup>2</sup> their mass appeal grew out of pre-Gorbachevian traditions of opposition to the Soviet state. More than Gorbachev's slogans of glasnost' and perestroika, it was the century-old Baltic song tradition which in 1988 provided the atmosphere as well as the physical setting (the Song Festival Grounds) for the enormous demonstrations in Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius. Singing societies, and the folklore ensembles in particular, had fought for and won a significant degree of independence from the Soviet cultural bureaucracy a number of years earlier. When they were chosen to perform at the mass demonstrations and celebrations of the Singing Revolution, the singers were recognized as leaders in the battle for national culture.

The broad history of the folklore movement, during which the folklore ensembles acquired their meaning as national symbols of opposition to the Soviet system, was outlined in Chapter Three. The present chapter attempts to enter these Baltic singing communities, and to discover the inner life and traditions of groups which held them together, binding individuals to both a local group and to the nation. How are individual identities transformed by these small groups? How are the activities of these groups related to the growth of a national movement? Participant observation of groups provides some answers.

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<sup>1</sup> The "Popular Fronts" of Estonia and Latvia, "Sąjūdis" in Lithuania, the Estonian Citizens' Committees, the Latvian National Independence Club, and the Lithuanian Freedom League.

<sup>2</sup> The idea of nonformal organizations was a part of the officially formulated plan for the reform and restructuring of Soviet society after 1985. This broadly propagated government program purportedly fought alienation within the Soviet population through decentralization and prioritization of the "human factor" (Gorbachev 1987: 103-105), and was officially recognized as a move toward "pluralism" (Churbanov and Neliubin 1990).

The question, "What did members of the Baltic national movements do at group meetings?" is a simple one, clearly pertinent to the study of nationalism in the modern world, but, to my knowledge, it has not been answered by historians of the Baltic Singing Revolution. Persons unfamiliar with Baltic society might imagine, for example, rituals like those described by Carlton Hayes:

The ritual of modern nationalism is simpler than that of certain other religions, but, considering its comparative youthfulness, it is already fairly well developed. Its chief symbol and central object of worship is the national flag [1960: 166].<sup>3</sup>

The national rituals described by Hayes resemble, not the activities of the Baltic "nonformals" or the folklore ensembles, but rather, the unsuccessful performances through which the Soviet state sought to graft a denationalized, Soviet identity and patriotism upon its citizens (cf. Mazaev 1978). Such rituals involving non-Soviet symbols were not possible during the Soviet period; much less explicit acts of dissent were cause for imprisonment as late as 1987 (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: 299-302). Openly patriotic acts were not necessary, however, for the spread and growth of revived national identity, and for the mobilization of new, active members of the nation. Folklore ensembles provide a clear example: What did they do? They sang. They discussed the folklore of their nation and other nations. They forged both personal friendships and enmities within each group. They overcame individual differences in order to pursue a common goal— the maintenance and propagation of the unique folklore of their nations.

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<sup>3</sup> Hayes goes on to quote a description of such a ritual, published in the New York Times, Feb 25, 1924: "The white flagstaff was placed in front of the sanctuary and topped with a golden sphere over which hovered the golden eagle. The congregation was addressed... 'The eagle is the emblem of our sovereignty; he expresses our aspiration and our inspiration, our living communion with the God of our fathers.' This was followed by the psalm of the eagle. After the psalm the Chief Officiant cried aloud: 'Hear ye the cry of the eagle.' The congregation responded: 'Let us rally to obey.' The flag was then raised to the singing of the first stanza of the Star-Spangled Banner..." [1960: 179].

The folklore ensembles awakened or strengthened their members' sense of national identity— a feeling of belonging to an historic Estonian, Latvian, or Lithuanian territory, to common historical memories, to a common culture.<sup>4</sup> Folklore ensembles caused individuals to become activists who sought, through singing, to awaken or strengthen such feelings of national identity in others.

The success of the folklore ensembles in building this national movement of opposition to Soviet culture, and of support for the native Baltic cultures, may be measured in numbers showing the growth of the folklore movement from a handful of people to thousands and even tens of thousands of singers (Appendix Three). On the other hand, their success may also be described in less concrete terms: People who joined the ensembles found liberty from the repressive norms of Soviet society, and became models of liberation for the other people who met them.

### Three Folksong Communities

Throughout my stay in the Baltic, I was often told that Ratilio, Leegajus, and Skandinieki were the leading folklore ensembles in their countries. I wished to see what these ensembles did offstage— how, when, and where they learned their songs, for example. I wanted to know about the groups' history and the folklore movement as it is remembered by group members, to discover people's reasons for practicing folklorism. From autumn of 1991

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<sup>4</sup> Anthony Smith identifies the fundamental features of national identity as (1) an historic territory, or homeland, (2) common myths and historical memories, (3) a common, mass public culture, (4) common legal rights and duties for all members, (5) a common economy with territorial mobility for members. He notes that in East Europe, an element of common descent, or the idea that an individual is born a member of a nation, is of primary importance (1993: 11, 14). Smith's civic and economic elements of national identity (numbers 4 and 5 above) played a proportionally smaller role in Baltic national identity during the Soviet period.

to spring of 1992, I regularly attended the three ensembles' rehearsals and performances to learn the answers to my questions. I would, I hoped, learn about this mass cultural movement from the perspective of the people who created this movement.

The three folklore ensembles were first introduced in Chapter One, where their performances at folklore festivals were described. They also appeared in Chapter Three as leaders in the history of the folklore movement. This chapter first encounters the three groups at their regular meetings offstage. Descriptions are supplemented by Appendices IV through VI, which summarize the three groups' histories in tabular form, providing lists of members, performances since the groups were founded, and overviews of the three ensembles' repertoires. The concluding portion of this chapter describes what holds the groups together: common identity based on shared history, personal friendships and kinship, talented leaders, and most importantly, singing traditions. This group cohesion molds the national identity of the individual group members.

#### The Vilnius University Folklore Ensemble, Ratilio

From the first day of classes at Vilnius University in the fall, to the last day of exams in spring, every Monday and Wednesday evening at 7:00, the members of the Vilnius University Ethnographic Ensemble, Ratilio,<sup>5</sup> arrive in the third-floor auditorium of the Medical School Building on Čiurlionis Street. Leaving their coats and bags on the wide windowsills, or draped across the first few rows of seats in the auditorium, they congregate,

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<sup>5</sup> The name of the ensemble, Ratilio, comes from a refrain word in Lithuanian folksongs. It does not have a meaning in contemporary Lithuanian, though it is related to the word meaning "spinning wheel." The official name of the ensemble calls it an "ethnographic" ensemble, not a folklore ensemble, because the name was given before distinction was made between the meanings of the two words.



chatting, in small groups. Women often arrive in pairs or groups, men are more likely to arrive alone, shaking hands with their friends as they come in. At about a quarter past seven, Roma Truncienė and a few other women walk onto the low stage, followed by the rest, and a group of approximately twenty five students forms a large circle (as the evening goes on, their number grows to thirty or thirty five). One of the women, usually Jurga Jurgelytė or Jurga Brazaitytė, begins a song in the resonant, full voice of Lithuanian lead singers, and the group joins in after a few syllables. Some leaf through handwritten songbooks to find the words; most sing from memory. They do not use written musical notes to recall the two-part melody. The first song is usually cheerful, rapid, and led by one of the best lead singers among the women.<sup>6</sup>

Truncienė, one of the members who is replacing the group's leader, Zita Kelmickaitė, during her absence this fall, sometimes interrupts the song after the first few lines, but at other times she waits until the end to comment on the style or speed of the song. She may tell the leader to begin on a higher or lower note, sing portions to show where the harmony went wrong, or dictate lines to remind the group about unusual dialect forms in the text. The song is repeated, often two or three times. Newer members borrow songbooks, and sit down to copy down the words. The first hour of the rehearsal is also a time when the entire group may learn new songs, either by listening to a field recording, or by taking down words as they are dictated by a group member, then listening to her sing the melody. After the words have been transcribed, the leader or a few persons begin to sing, and the group joins in, gradually splitting into two-part harmony if the style of the song allows it.

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<sup>6</sup> In September of 1991, the first song was usually "Apyneli žaliasai" ("Green Hops," a song about beer and a wedding).

After this opening of the rehearsal, most of the men and a few women disappear backstage, where a tiny room (1½ x 4 meters) is filled with traditional instruments. Some sit in this room on a bench along the wall, practicing on the kanklės (psaltery), accordions with button keys, or concertinas. Others pair up with lumzdeliai (wooden whistles with finger holes) or ožragiai (reed pipes made with cow or goat horns), taking them out into the hallway to practice two-part pieces. They have usually learned to play by practicing next to a regular musician, following his melodies and hand movements, gradually acquiring the art. Antanas Fokas, instructor and coordinator of the instrumental portion of the group's repertoire, hands out instruments and musical notes to newer members of the group, and, if asked, demonstrates melodies and playing techniques.<sup>7</sup> He calls together five men, each of whom takes a ragas, a large wooden horn with no finger holes. Each horn is a different size and plays a different series of notes. As each person blows his horn at a single tone in different patterns, the notes mesh into a sutartinė, a pulsing melody of harmonies and disharmonies. After a while, Fokas tells the players to switch horns, and the same piece is repeated. Younger members stand by, watching. They later replace the first players, one by one, and the melody is repeated many times. Rehearsals of instrumental sutartinės played on the skudučiai (panpipes) follow a similar pattern, though the number of participants may vary.

Meanwhile, back on stage, the group, now made up mostly of women, sings several more group songs before breaking up the circle and falling into smaller clusters of six or eight women who practice singing sutartinės. If there are enough of them who know the song, they

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<sup>7</sup> Antanas Fokas, born 1954 in Telšiai, Lithuania. Graduated from Šiauliai Music School (1973) and the Klaipėda branch of the Lithuanian Conservatory (1989). He teaches music at Vilnius Middle School No. 57, and prepares folk music programs for broadcasts by Radio Lithuania. In 1975, he began performing with the professional Lithuanian Folklore Theater (Mataitis ensemble), where he became a leader of the instrumental group. He remained with that ensemble until its breakup in 1989. He was then invited to lead the instrumental group of Ratilio. In 1988, Fokas founded another folk music ensemble, Sutaras, which is one of the leading folk instrumental groups in Lithuania today.

sing it standing in a small circle; behind each singer stands another, who watches and listens while she waits to eventually replace the singer in front of her. If most of them are beginners, they sing the parts of the song together to memorize the melodies, and then begin singing the alternating parts. When all who are present know the song, smaller circles are formed, all singing in unison, but following the polyphonic canonical cycle within each circle. Some sutartinės are accompanied by movements, and the women smoothly walk through geometrical patterns as they sing. A quiet whoop by the lead singer signals the end of the song, and the women break up, laughing and joking, as the older singers in each group point out mistakes in text, singing style, or movements.

Most of the men have now passed into another, larger room across the hallway outside the auditorium, where they practice an energetic men's song, full of masculine bravado. The first words of each stanza are begun by an experienced leader (Laimutis Žemaitis, Virginis Žemaitis, and several others). Truncienė sometimes listens in, correcting the speed, words or dialectal forms, then listens again as the song is repeated several times. Few of the men use songbooks during the men's songs, and most know the words very well. War songs are the favorites here.<sup>8</sup>

Around 9:00 pm, everybody returns to the stage, where they again stand in a circle. They repeat other songs that they have recently been learning; one such song, "Oi an cילו," was brought to the group in September of 1991 by the first-year student, Gitana Adamavičiūtė, who learned it in the secondary school folklore ensemble of her home town. Some look into their songbooks to find the words that she dictated at the beginning of an

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<sup>8</sup> "Augin tėvas du sūneliu" ("A Father Raised Two Sons"), "Oi lunkela, lunkela" ("Oi, the field, the field").

earlier rehearsal, but others memorized the song upon hearing it the first time, and do not use books at all.

Organizational matters are discussed. An upcoming concert program (made up by Truncienė and a few others during a break in the rehearsal) is quickly summarized, the meeting place and time before the concert is announced. Another song, and Roma concludes the formal rehearsal with, "Well, what do you say, let's dance a bit!" Dalius Jatušis carries out a concertina and calls the dance.<sup>9</sup> His melodies have an energy which makes feet move of themselves, and his playing is also followed by the other musicians who join in— a fiddler or two, a bass fiddle, a drum, or another concertina, played by a younger member of the group who is learning the melodies.<sup>10</sup> Men choose women, and about four couples begin to dance; another six couples soon join them. One dance barely ends when Jatušis calls out another, and the dancing often continues late into the night.

Before important concerts, rehearsals are held at which the upcoming program is chosen and practiced to see if it fits the time slot. Members who will be performing special pieces such as the two-person sutartinės meet at other times to rehearse; many of the women gather a half hour before the rehearsal to spend more time practicing sutartinės. The concerts are usually arranged only a few weeks in advance. This ensemble is a favorite whenever entertainment is needed for groups of foreign scholars hosted by the university. In September of 1991, for example, Ratilio performs for a group of historians from Ukraine, and for the international participants of a conference on Baltic linguistics. The former is a more formal presentation in the Hall of Columns, with the handful of historians sitting in the front rows.

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<sup>9</sup> "Minijonas," "Malūnelis," "Pliauškutis," and others.

<sup>10</sup> Jatušis tells me that he learned to play after he joined the ensemble, by imitating an older member of the group. Fiddlers, unlike the other musicians, have usually had some musical instruction (in violin) before joining the ensemble.

Brief translations of songs into Russian, and remarks on regional singing styles accompany the concert. The reception at the linguistics conference is less formal. Here, the scholars stand around the sides of the hall, sipping drinks, while the ensemble sings. A few songs are followed by many dances in which the linguists, invited by the young students, happily dance along.

The songs in the ensemble's active repertoire are constantly changing. New songs are added nearly every week, and old ones from earlier years are recalled and taught to new members. Seasonal changes also affect the repertoire. Harvest songs sung during the autumn give way in early December to midwinter's songs and games. By May, the group's repertoire has again changed considerably, with many new songs learned in preparation for performances at the annual folklore festivals in Vilnius and Kaunas.

Although the songs that the university ensemble sings change over a very short time, the structure of the twice-weekly rehearsals remains the same, beginning and ending with a large group circle. As the ensemble breaks up into smaller groups during the rehearsal, boundaries between these clusters are never clearly marked. People move from one group to another, some arrive late, others leave early. The fluid, constantly rearranging order of the rehearsals in the auditorium, the two backstage rooms, the large hallway, and other rooms, makes observation of the entire group at any single moment impossible—the description presented here is compiled from notes at several meetings in autumn of 1991.

### Leegaius

In Town Hall Square in Tallin, there is a plaque embedded in the cobblestone pavement, marking the geographical center of Estonia's capital city. From here, one can see

on the East side of the square the Teachers' Hall (Õpetajate maja, Raekoja plats 14), the community center which has sponsored the folklore ensemble, Leegajus,<sup>11</sup> since its founding in 1970. Upstairs is the main hall, where the group has held many of its public performances. To get to the ensemble's rehearsal room, however, one goes downstairs, passing through several basement rooms, then through an enclosed outdoor yard, into a hallway cramped full of old furniture, and finally through a large double door. One enters a cozy, carpeted and well-lit room with a high ceiling, approximately four by six meters in area. Around the sides of the room are chairs and a table with teacups and a large thermos. A locked cabinet with more dishes, coffee, tea, and other group property stands in a corner. On the walls are a blackboard, posters from folklore festivals, pictures and memorabilia. The shelves by the end wall are stacked full of books, souvenirs from group trips, and old musical instruments; next to them is an upright piano above which hangs a map of Estonia.

As people come in, they hang their coats on hooks by the door, take off their shoes and put on slippers, to keep the floor clean (A list by the door records the members alternately responsible for cleanup at the end of each rehearsal). The approximately twenty members of Leegajus meet twice a week, on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings from 6:00 to 8:00. Usually, the men and women rehearse separately (men on Tuesdays and women on Wednesdays), following earlier Estonian folk traditions, where men and women often did not sing together. Whenever there is an upcoming group performance, however, they all squeeze into the room to practice group songs and dances. Such is the meeting on Wednesday, January 15, 1992, when Leegajus prepares for two upcoming performances. Ten members of

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<sup>11</sup> The name, Leegajus, is a folk term referring to the overlap of voices in the last two syllables of a line of the Estonian folksong as it is sung in call-response performance. The group's choice of the name was inspired at least in part by the title of a booklet of Finno-Ugric songs, Leegajused (plural form of the word), which was published for a 1971 conference on Finno-Ugric studies in Tartu.

the group are leaving on the following day for a performance in Moscow, and the group also has to practice for a concert in Tallinn on the day after they return from Moscow. This second concert will feature Estonian fiddle music, and the two fiddlers, Toivo Tubli and Joel Sarv, have already prepared their part. One piece—a wedding custom featuring a fiddler—will be performed by the whole group, and it is practiced first so that those not going to Moscow may go home earlier:

Igor Tõnurist, leader of the group, reads a nineteenth-century ethnographic description of a wedding party, headed by a fiddler, as it arrives at the bride's farmstead. The bride's relatives receive the groom's procession with a song, after which formulaic phrases are exchanged between the two groups and a gift is given to the bride; the procession then moves on to the groom's farmstead. As Tõnurist reads, the fiddler Sarv reaches out with his bow to tip the other fiddler's hat, to Tõnurist's annoyance ("Don't do that! We'll have to rehearse it again!"). Tõnurist asks Saima Korp, a longtime member of the group, if she remembers the song of greeting which he has selected ("Seiep tuleb võõraaida"); she remembers, and leads it. Kaili Lasmaa, who is to play the bride, asks if she should be surprised at the arrival of the group; Tõnurist explains that the bride knows of her guests coming, but feigns surprise. Discipline is definitely not on the group's mind as the rehearsal continues: As the arrival is repeated a second time, Tubli ends his fiddling with "Shave and a haircut, two bits"; instead of repeating their lines for a third time, the women begin to converse quietly among themselves. Tõnurist explodes, "Don't talk! Or you'll stand there like fools in front of everybody and you won't know what to do!" He repeats the instructions for what the group

will do; as quickly as his anger flashed, it diffuses in a humorous remark, and the group completes the last repetition.<sup>12</sup>

They sit down, and Mati Viil (in charge of the group's organizational matters) reports on the Moscow trip, listing times of departure and arrival, and collecting money for each person's train ticket. Tõnurist describes the other plans for the Moscow concert, noting that the Moscow Estonian community has already been told about the performance, and that the concert will be recorded by Radio Moscow. He reviews the list of songs that will be performed. Most of the lead singers chosen in the previous week know their songs, but some still read from the index cards which Tõnurist has lent them from his files. Only one person has to know each song well, since the group will be repeating lines as they are called. They practice the songs in the traditional style, their voices overlapping on the last two syllables of each line. The women knit and crochet as they sing, swaying back and forth, their hands working, as they listen and sing. Tõnurist walks over to tell me the parish in which this song was recorded, pointing it out on the map on the wall. In between songs, he reads out loud (in Estonian) the ethnographic descriptions which he plans to give (in Russian) at the concert.

After the songs come several instrumental pieces, and finally, a dance. Having finished the program, the group breaks up into smaller clusters who begin to pack up their things. Margus Rahuoja, a member who recently joined the group, opens up the case that he has carried to the rehearsal, and takes out a new kannel which he has just bought. Some of the men walk over to look at it; he plays a few notes, then a waltz. In a ceremonial voice, Tõnurist announces, "Margus's new kannel!," and the others in the room stop to listen.

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<sup>12</sup> At the performance on January 21, nearly everybody but the fiddler forgot the lines that they had rehearsed, and a necklace which was to be used as a gift for the bride was forgotten at home. The performance was a success anyway: The songs and fiddle music were performed flawlessly, and the group improvised its spoken parts in such a way that the audience did not notice anything unusual.



Three couples begin to dance. There is barely enough room for all of them to turn at once, but they dance well until the music falls silent. It is nearly eight o'clock. As they put on their shoes and coats and file out, they each take a few fliers announcing the concert next week, to be posted at workplaces and given to friends.

Aside from the fact that the men and women usually meet separately, most rehearsals are similar to this one on January 15 (my second meeting with Leegajus). Programs for upcoming concerts are discussed and decided upon about two weeks in advance; texts from Tõnurist's archive, if needed, are handed out to the lead singers, who read from them as they sing, but learn them by heart by the next meeting. Programs may be altered even during performances; sometimes Tõnurist has the men or women prepare separately and surprise the other half with unexpected songs during the concerts. As in the rehearsals of Ratilio in Lithuania, the group's active song repertoire changes week by week, with every new performance. The passive repertoire, easily and frequently recalled to memory, expands continually with songs brought to the rehearsals by Tõnurist.

Songs, each repeated several times, and then instrumental music, take up much of the rehearsal; the group discussions which go on between songs, however, are also special. In these conversations among the more dynamic members of the group, a delight in word play and rich linguistic expression is characteristic. When Tõnurist describes the schedule of the Moscow concert, for example, instead of saying "reception after the concert," he calls it "Tšajo joomine koos tordiga," or "the drinking of chai (Russian for tea), accompanied by cake," a playful parody of official-sounding descriptions ascribed to inconsequential events. As sightseeing in Moscow is discussed, Ain Sarv exclaims that he wishes to see the hiire õli (mouse oil) about which he had heard. The others catch his pun and laugh; seeing my puzzlement, he comes over and tells me about the American who learned that lines in front of

Moscow stores meant that something valuable was on sale; the longer the line, the more rare and exceptional the merchandise. He returned home one day and declared that he knew what was the most valuable commodity— "mouse oleum." I finally understand the joke about Lenin's tomb. These two examples of speech play are easy for me to record, but, as a foreigner to both Estonia and Estonian, I can but guess at the punchlines of Ain Sarv's anecdotes which so frequently make the group laugh. His ever-present sharp wit is enhanced by a deliciously pronounced taste for dialect words, proverbial phrases, and precise usage of the most highly expressive forms of the Estonian language. He is not alone— most of the other members of the group also have this gift of artistic speech.

In Vilnius, the twice-weekly meetings of Ratilio are driven by the group as a whole. Individuals (even the leader herself) may come and go or pass from room to room, but the rehearsals continue as energetically as ever. In Latvia, the rehearsals of Skandinieki center around the leader, Helmī Stalte; In the small meeting room of Leegajus, however, each of the twenty persons who arrives at the rehearsal gives a unique contribution, and the atmosphere of every evening varies according to the members present. For example, Ain Sarv's powerful voice and superior memory, unaided by written notes, drives forward any lengthy group song. In the same way, Toivo Tubli's fiddle livens up every instrumental piece. He, in Tõnurist's words, "Has the true musician in him... He simply orders everybody to dance!"<sup>13</sup> Rehearsals are dramatically changed by the infrequent arrival of Anne Sepamägi, by age the oldest member, who grew up in the traditional culture of Southeast Estonia, Setumaa. Her voice and singing style are those of the traditional singers in this region, and she still learns

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<sup>13</sup> Tape recorded interview, 19 March 1992. "Temas on seda õiget pillimeehe suunt. Tema mängib väga kindelt.... Noh, nagu üks pillimees ütles kunagi, et 'Kui mina mängin pulmas, siis peab igaüks tantsima minema. On tal jalgu all, või ei ole, või on kard käes.' Vot, Toivo mängib just niisuguse tooniga. Ja tema kohta on meie muusika inimesed kuulnud tema mängu, ja küsinud... 'Kes see mees on?' Et tema lausa sunnib tantsima."

songs like many generations of singers before her: without reading or writing, purely by ear; when she begins a song, she always sings it to its very end. Still other singers stand out, for example, two other Setu women, Leida Heliste and Õie Sarv, are also outstanding leaders of women's songs, each infusing the texts with her own personality and individual singing style. Not the least of the singers is Tõnurist himself, who, in addition to providing song texts and impromptu lectures on any aspect of Estonian folklore, frequently leads men's songs from Setumaa.

The importance of individuals in Leegajus, as compared to the Lithuanian Ratilio, is characteristic of Estonian folksong traditions as compared to those of Lithuania. The call-response style demands that the leader alone sing the entire text of every new line; whereas in the typical Lithuanian songs, the leader begins each stanza and sets its tone, but is immediately joined by the group. In Leegajus, Tõnurist demands that every member acquire the individual skill of leading songs. Some, like Margus Rahuoja, who joined only three years ago, seem to have always had the gift, while others—not only newcomers, but also several older members—are still learning the voice and the self-assurance which is needed to recall and call line after line of text.

Although the ensemble has performed at many festivals and travelled on concert tours abroad, its most frequent performance setting is an intimate concert for a relatively small Estonian audience. Such are the concerts, "Musical Evenings of the Rural Folk," which have regularly taken place since 1971 in the Teachers' Hall. In the winter of 1991-1992, these concerts were established as a regular event on the third Tuesday of every month. There is a faithful group of followers which attends these concerts, approximately sixty people who come each month to learn about Estonian folk music. The theme of the concert is chosen about two weeks in advance: Estonian fiddle music, men's songs, and game-songs are the

three concerts that Leegajus puts on during my stay in the first three months of 1992. The songs and instrumental pieces are interspersed with brief scholarly commentary by Tōnurist. Often a folk musician has been invited from the countryside to perform alone and together with the instrumental group. The audience is welcome to sing along during the concert. After the more formal concert has ended, the instrumental group continues to play traditional dance music, and most stay to dance for the rest of the evening.

### Skandinieki

On Friday, December 12, 1991 (my first rehearsal), the members of Skandinieki<sup>14</sup> gather in the Krišjānis Barons Memorial Museum (Kr. Barona Street 3-5), to practice the songs and games of the winter solstice, which they will perform in a week at the Anglican Church (Rīga Technical University Students' Club Hall). We take off our shoes in the front room, and those of us who haven't brought our own slippers walk in socks onto the polished oak parquet of the apartment where Krišjānis Barons, compiler of the Latvian dainas, once lived and worked. His room is roped off at one end of the apartment; a set of double doors separate it and a center room from the main room in which we sit. Led by Julgī Stalte, the children file through these doors into the center room to rehearse several songs and instrumental pieces on their own.

Some of the adults begin singing as the stragglers arrive, until about twenty people sit on the long benches which have now been placed into a circle around the sides of the room.

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<sup>14</sup> The leaders of the group discovered the name, Skandinieki, in an eighteenth-century reader republished in 1977 (Stenders 1977: 26; cf. Karulis 1992, Vol 2: 26, 195). Stenders, who studied the Latvian language and grammar, coined the word as a Latvian term for "vowel," which in modern Latvian is patskanis, literally, "that which resounds independently."

As Helmī Stalte names songs to be practiced, she, Valda Vītola, Marga Stalta, Māra Valpētere, and other women alternately lead, deciding along the way who will lead each song at the upcoming performance. They look around at each other while they sing, sometimes helping the lead singer with words if she falters, though most of the songs are remembered well. During the game song in which a mouse is asked a series of questions ("Where are you going, rye mouse?" etc.), they laugh out loud at the question, "Where did you get that old cheese?" as empty store shelves come to mind. The Rīga stores will soon fill up, however, because the Latvian government cancelled food subsidies three days ago. Food prices, which have doubled during the past few days, are the main topic of conversation when we sit down between songs. "When my daughter and I get hungry, we practice knitting," says one, "It's not really that bad, and it could be much worse!" They compare salaries— 325, 350 rubles per month (the inflating ruble is trading at one hundred to one dollar that week). But the depressing context of a collapsing economy and an uncertain future soon dissolves.

Helmī and Dainis Stalti do not allow any of us to sit for too long, and, as we sing following Helmī's powerful voice, the fatigue gradually gives away. Loud laughter fills the museum during the traditional game-songs. During the chase of the wolf and goat, Ričards Stalts's glasses fly off in the excitement. The worries which were present at the beginning of the evening relax as we sing the calm solstice song, "Ziemassvētki [Midwinter] has arrived." Afterwards, as I walk with the Stalti to the train station, I catch up on recent events. Helmī's father has recently gone into the hospital; their son, Dāvis, is also seriously ill. On Saturday and Sunday they are going to lead the seminars for the Worldview School in Saldus and Kuldīga, and Dainis invites me to accompany them and give lectures about the success of the Foxfire project in rejuvenating rural American schools, something that they hope to accomplish in the Latvian countryside.

The performance at the Anglican church a week later includes all of the songs and games that Skandinieki rehearsed on December 13, as well as several songs which were not sung at the rehearsal. Near the beginning of the concert, for example, as the group walks in a ring together with members of the audience, stanza after stanza of texts related to the winter solstice are called out by different persons from the group and the audience; if the stanza is familiar, the entire ring joins the leader after the first few words; if the text is not well known, they join in only on the traditional refrain (judabro) and the repetition of the line. Several other songs are called by persons who did not rehearse them a week earlier. Towards the middle of the concert, for example, Brigita Ķīģele calls a series of magic charms which she learned from a healer living near her home in Krimulda; each line of her song is repeated by the small group of Skandinieki clustered around her. The concert concludes with another song familiar to most members of the audience, and easy to sing even for those who hear it for the first time: "I won't sleep, I won't sleep on Midwinter's Eve, kūčo, kūčo!"

During the winter months, the ensemble usually meets twice a week, on Fridays in the Barons museum and on Tuesdays in a small hall administered by the Latvian National Independence Movement, at Elizabetes Street 23. Rehearsals vary. Once, the group does voice exercises, for example, standing in a circle, each person singing the note following his or her neighbor's note on the scale. At another rehearsal, we dance for most of the evening, and at still another, solstice songs are rehearsed for the upcoming recording session. Helmī does not hold to a strict rehearsal plan; one day in early May, for example, discussions begin about the children's folklore festival which just took place in Rīga, and the group debates for more than a half hour over whether or not children should sing in separate children's ensembles (folk tradition never separated singing adults from singing children), and whether

Russians should be encouraged to sing Latvian folksongs (there are unique Russian folksong traditions in East Latvia, which they could truly call their own).

For Skandinieki, the significance of songs and singing does not vary in what seem to be the different contexts of rehearsal, in-group celebration, or public performance. In any of these settings, all persons present are encouraged to join the group in song and dance; informal asides, joking among the ensemble members, fleeting mistakes corrected by improvised changes in the songs— all occur in any context. The greater differences among singing occasions are determined by the date. More formal singing (with more songs related to magical and supernatural beliefs) is characteristic on the seasonal holidays, celebrations of the life cycle, or historically significant days. Less formal singing— including humorous songs and zinges (international ballads), for example, is typical at other times. At the rehearsal on December 13, an ordinary winter day, most of the time is spent in game-songs. On seasonally significant dates, in contrast, song texts with magical meaning are at the center of attention, whether it is a public concert (winter solstice, December 20) or an in-group celebration (summer solstice, 1992). It is not unusual for the group to perform songs that it has not sung since the seasonal celebration a year earlier. Singing is a constant part of life for each member of the group, the group's leaders in particular. Singing is a part of any gathering for the Stalti family (Helmī's birthday on August 7 and dinner on December 30 were particularly memorable). The ensemble sings both before and after its official performances. As in Estonia, the most common performance style of Latvian folksongs, that of a leader calling lines which are repeated by the group, allows the group's repertoire to change constantly, independently of rehearsals. Unlike the members of Leegajus in Estonia, however, the lead singers in Skandinieki often improvise new songs at performances,

combining traditional stanzas in different ways at different concerts (a common practice in Latvian folksong traditions).

In May of 1992, the twice-weekly rehearsals are gradually giving way to the summer schedules of each individual member. Several persons are spending every free moment working on houses and gardens in the countryside, and no longer are able to come to rehearsals. Others are required to work overtime at their jobs in the changing Latvian economy, and do not have the free evenings which they once devoted to Skandinieki. Performances are not affected by the larger or smaller numbers of performers who attend—concerts in concert halls, as well as the smaller performances which take place every week during the summer at the Open Air Museum, have always had enough members for successful singing (or— the people who happen to be at a performance are always able to give a full concert!). Skandinieki can follow a very flexible schedule of rehearsals and performances, because each of its older members has an extensive repertoire of songs and the ability to improvise a performance on a minute's notice. Concert programs are often put together only a few days or hours in advance, or even during the performance itself.

#### National Identity and National Activism in Small Groups

Some elements of national identity, as described by Smith (see footnote 4 above), are also strong elements of the group identity among members in the three folklore ensembles. A consciousness of shared group history varies from person to person and from group to group, but invariably the group's history coincides with national history and the battle for national independence, at first independence from Soviet culture, and later, from the Soviet state. The characteristically East European element of national identity described by Smith—a belief in



national identity based on common descent— is related to the bonds of kinship and friendship which hold each group together. When bonds of kinship and friendship cross regional boundaries, as they do, group identity includes identification with the national territory. Finally, the shared group culture —folklore from all regions of the national territory— is national culture, as well. Passive identification with the group and the nation turns active in the performance of songs, when individuals express themselves in art. When the group performs for the public, it exhorts others to join the movement.

### Shared Histories

Each of the three ensembles has a colorful history. In interviews, the leaders remember the original battles with government administrators over the right to continue performing in the folk style. They recall the audiences which grew steadily through the years, and the spread of the movement as their ensemble members founded new groups of their own. They describe their contributions to the revived national consciousness which was allied with the folklore movement of the early eighties, and recount how their groups stood at the center of public attention during the Singing Revolution. Similar histories are remembered by some members of the ensembles. Other members, however, may see history differently, finding only a few points of convergence with the memories of the ensemble leaders.

Memories of more than two decades surround Leegajus at every rehearsal: souvenirs and trinkets remind them of meetings with folklore ensembles from other parts of the former Soviet Union; posters from the Kaustinen Folklore Festival recall their trip to Finland in 1990. Posters with environmental slogans remind them of their ties to the Estonian Nature

Protection Society, and small pennants picturing Arnold Rūütel bring back the events of the national elections in 1990. A framed photograph of Jaan Sarv recalls a much-loved person who until his death in 1987 stood next to Igor Tõnurist at the head of the ensemble. Each individual ties her or his life story tightly to the story of the group to which they all have devoted most of their free time and energy: six of the present members have been with Leegajus since its founding years in the early seventies; three more joined before 1980, and six more before 1986. In 1992, there is only one regular member who joined after that year, in 1989 (four young newcomers have also started to come to rehearsals regularly during the winter of 1991 and 1992, and are trying out for membership). Thus nearly all of today's members recall many years of intensive performance schedules in Estonia and the Soviet Union; they recall the restrictions on Estonian cultural life which were the norm before the collapse of Soviet rule, and the exciting events of the Singing Revolution which they experienced together in the ensemble. They agree that it is a love for archaic singing, as well as a determination to maintain this singing as a part of Estonian national culture, which has kept the group together.

Of the three Baltic ensembles studied here, Leegajus owns the most complete set of historical documents about its own past. The official Soviet cultural administration required that every leader of an amateur ensemble keep a "work diary" of the group's activities, to be regularly checked and approved by a representative of the ensemble's sponsoring organization. Tõnurist recorded every rehearsal and every concert, marking off attendance, often even listing the songs which were rehearsed or performed. Beginning in the 1980's, he also kept the small slips of paper with program notes (song titles, lead singers) that he held in his pocket during concerts. With the exception of three years when the diaries were

misplaced, and not including summer performances, which were not always carefully recorded, a nearly complete list of Leegajus activities has been compiled in Appendix Five.

The lists of concerts and members, however, are interpreted differently by different individuals. Riddled with personality conflicts, the internal history of the group cannot be retold without taking sides, and different members today assume different positions. This is another part of history as remembered by members of the group: Whenever I asked questions about the group's past, I first heard general comments about the importance of singing and folksongs in Estonian national culture, but then found that people dwelt much longer in discussions of tensions among several very strong-willed members, disagreements which nearly broke up the ensemble more than once. In summary, history for Leegajus is a combination of memories about conflicts which threatened to split the group up and memories of forces which glued them together, above all, a common identification with the treasure of the Estonian nation, its folksongs. This identification was strengthened by the resonance which their performances found among the public, both during the Soviet period and the Singing Revolution.

In contrast to the members of Leegajus, who each know a lengthy, interpretive history of that ensemble, the two-and-a-half decade history of Ratilio in Lithuania matters little to most of its members, university students who come to rehearsals to take a break from studies, to sing and dance with friends, to learn new songs, to prepare for upcoming concerts in the busy series of performances both inside Lithuania and abroad. They also enjoy the field expeditions during which they travel together in the Lithuanian countryside, collecting folklore. Unlike the intimate meeting room of Leegajus in Estonia, the only physical place belonging to Ratilio is the tiny back room in which they store their musical instruments, much too small to hold even a fourth of the ensemble, or to serve as a museum of objects holding

historical memories. They think in terms of the present and not in terms of historical continuity from the ensemble's founding, as I discovered with the success of an unintended joke: On November 20, I had with me an old poster advertising the ensemble's performance on November 22 (the year of the actual performance, 1975, appeared in small type). I gleefully found that most persons to whom I showed the poster were first surprised that nobody had told them about the concert which was only two days away. As I rode home on the trolleybus that evening, Liongina Gudelienė, member of the group since 1971, began telling me and another member stories which we both heard for the first time, about the difficulties which she had encountered in printing the poster that I brought to the rehearsal, about KGB surveillance, and above all, about the great change in the group's history in 1985, when Ratilio received its first token of recognition from the official cultural administration: money was allotted for the purchase of new, painstakingly reproduced ethnographic folk costumes for the entire group.

Gudelienė is one of the few persons in the ensemble today who remembers the group's life during the Soviet era. She keeps the ensemble's only archives.<sup>15</sup> From membership rosters which Gudelienė has saved since the early eighties, I compiled the list of persons which appears in Appendix IV. From the photographs and mementoes she showed me, several memorable performances came to life. Lost are the historical albums compiled for display at the group's anniversary performances.<sup>16</sup> For the present-day members of Ratilio, the history of the ensemble doesn't reach much further back than the late eighties

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<sup>15</sup> The ensemble's three past leaders— Aldona Ragevičienė, Laima Burkšaitienė, and Zita Kelmickaitė— had to file reports similar to those filled out by Tõnurist in Leegajus, but most copies of these reports have been lost.

<sup>16</sup> Some say these albums will be recovered when the voluminous archives of the KGB are one day made public; others believe they were lost during the rapid changeover of generations which is so characteristic in this ensemble.

when they came to the university, a time when the Soviet police state was falling apart, and the conflicts over Soviet folklore, so important during the rise and spread of the movement, had for the most part ceased in Lithuania. The group's collective memory was reduced in 1989 in particular, when a number of older members decided to leave the ensemble and founded a new group, Vydraga; when they departed, leading positions opened up for the younger members who are at the head of the ensemble today. For many present members of Ratilio, history begins where Gudalienė's history left off: With the exciting trips to the West which began as the Soviet borders gradually opened. For them, this folklore ensemble represents liberation, not from the Soviet censorship and official folklorism, but from the restrictions on foreign contacts which existed before 1989. The ensemble members, like their leaders, remember the surging national pride which flowed through Lithuania during the Singing Revolution, and the group's performances which brought to light the officially nonexistent songs— those of the Siberian deportees, patriotic war songs, and most recently, Christian folk songs. The group today is united by vivid memories of singing at mass gatherings during the January Days of 1991, and memories of acquaintances who were killed or wounded on the barricades at the time. The earlier battles over Soviet culture and censorship are fading or lost among most of the young students who today perform in Ratilio, but very recent events have forged a strong sense of group identity based on history. Thoughts about the group's past recall Lithuanian national history, in which the group so actively participated as a carrier of national pride.

In Latvia, Skandinieki meet once every week in the Barons Museum, where they are surrounded by relics of the great folksong scholar and national hero. The ensemble blends into this century-old history, as they continue Barons's work of reviving folksongs in the active national culture. The ensemble itself, however, is not memorialized in this museum or

any other meeting places. Nor does the group have anything resembling an archive. The Stalti refused to keep any written records of their ensemble's activities or membership, for fear that they could be misused by the KGB. The history that I could reconstruct from interviews and scattered newspaper reports appears in Appendix VI.

The absence of documents about the group's past is countered by a strong shared identification with the unwritten history of Skandinieki, as it is recounted at various occasions by Dainis Stalts. The Stalti were strict leaders, expelling members who did not share their opinion that the folklore ensemble is a weapon in the struggle against the Soviet system, and that the ensemble's main goal was the maintenance and popularization of Latvian and Livonian traditional culture. The attempts of the political police to infiltrate the ensemble, and to plant seeds of mistrust among the core individuals, accomplished the opposite: those who broke the circle of trust were discovered and are no longer members, while those who proved their loyalty to each other under the most difficult conditions are now fast friends.<sup>17</sup> While outsiders told me highly conflicting stories of the ensemble's past, the insiders, as far as I could tell, would all agree with Dainis Stalts when he summarizes the history and the present-day activities of Skandinieki:

These, then, have been the three main themes which guided our work: Raising the self-esteem of the nation, saving folk culture from extinction, and broadening the folklore movement. And we did this actively— already from the start, we set our main goal: To prepare people to the point where they would be able to lead their own groups.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Many other persons passed through Skandinieki and departed as friends, of course.

<sup>18</sup> Tape recorded interview, 14 August 1991. "Tātad trīs tādi galvenie vadmotīvi, kas virzīja mūsu darbību. Tautas pašcieņas celšana, tautas garamantu glābšana no pazušanas un folkloras kustības vēršana plašumā. Un to mēs aridzan aktīvi darījām, jau sākotnēji liekot par virsuzdevumu sagatavot cilvēkus tik tālu, lai viņi būtu spējīgi atkal vadīt jau savu kopu."

The various histories which are remembered by individuals in Ratilio, Leegajus, and Skandinieki resemble each other in simple outline: Folk singing is associated with pride in national heritage; the groups are considered to be heirs of the earlier generations of Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians, with a mission of continuing the archaic traditions of these ancestors. The group members place their performances into a political context, that of the recent Baltic independence movements. These are basic ideas in national history: ties to a venerable past strengthen the desire to elevate and maintain national culture in the present day, for the benefit of future generations. This shared view of history reaching into the future is a strong link in the bonds holding the ensembles together.

The membership of the nation appears in a new light in the ethnographic study of three concrete communities which continue to construct the modern-day Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian nations and their cultures. Along with shared historical identities, several other factors play a role in the imagining of these three small communities, holding together the individual members. The same factors also weld together the much larger, but similarly imagined community of the nation. Among these factors are kinship, love, and friendship.

#### Communities of Kinship, Love, and Friendship

Kinship among the many members of Leegajus or Skandinieki is apparent in the membership lists of these two ensembles. The Sarv clan and the Stalts/Grasis clan have formed the backbones of Leegajus and Skandinieki, respectively, from their very founding (see Appendices V and VI). While other members have come and gone, lead singers from these families have been prominent in most, if not all of the performances ever put on by these ensembles. Kinship provided a natural group of persons who could be trusted in Soviet

society, and thus was a means of avoiding the state-controlled system of surveillance and coercion. Each of the two clans made up a nucleus of the ensemble which could not be infiltrated or corrupted. The KGB's intensive attempts to inject mistrust among the members of Skandinavieki touched not only the general membership, but were thrust also into the center of the Stalts family, attempting to split up the married couple who, together, were invincible as leaders of the widely popular ensemble.

Kin relations of a different sort have always been present in Ratilio. Again, as one reads through the compiled membership list of this Lithuanian ensemble (Appendix IV), one frequently meets pairs of persons with the same surname. Several are siblings, but most—nineteen couples in all—are persons who met as members of the group and were later married. Along with the overt goals of musical performance and maintenance of cultural heritage, the simple possibility of meeting persons of the opposite sex (not always with marriage as a goal, of course) has been a strong factor attracting members of the student ensemble to its regular rehearsals, and to the informal dances which continue long after the rehearsal is done. Romantic love emerges in Skandinavieki and Leegajus as well, but less frequently than in the large, young ranks of Ratilio. In studies of modern-day national identity, kinship is usually placed in the context of false nationalist rhetoric about a common national ancestry. The three folklore ensembles, however, show how ideas of national kinship networks are not pure fabrication, but form as a result of urbanization. People from different regions of the national territory meet in cities and are married, and their families identify with the various regions of their country as a homeland.

Friendship, like kinship and love, also bonds smaller groups within the folklore ensemble. When Ratilio was founded in 1968, most of its members came from a closeknit group of classmates in the program of Lithuanian Language and Literature. Students who



joined in later years often arrived in clusters, or invited friends from their own university departments. Students of medicine, for example, congregated in the instrumental group of Ratilio. Several chemistry students joined Skandinieki at the same time in its early history. Valda Vītola, a lead singer in Skandinieki since the early eighties, is a close friend of the Stalti and a regular visitor in their home. In Leegajus, Kristin Kuutma and Ōie Sarv, two talented lead singers, are inseparable companions both inside and outside the group's activities. The friendship of Jaan Sarv, Tõnurist's assistant leader until his death in 1987, is still deeply missed by all of the older members of Leegajus. It was Sarv who was able to mediate all personal conflicts among the group's members.

Kinship, love, and friendship, bonding forces in the face-to-face communities of folklore ensembles, are nevertheless not required among all members of the group. There is a tension in Leegajus, for example, between the strong personalities of Igor Tõnurist and Ain Sarv, a tension which is overcome by the common goal of the group: "We don't get along, but we know very well that we can't get along without each other, either," remarks Tõnurist.<sup>19</sup> Personal conflicts are not as apparent in Ratilio, but a surprising fact emerged when I asked several of the older members to help identify persons whom I had photographed: Although they all spoke about the family-like feeling among members of the group, they didn't know the names of persons with whom they had been singing together for a year or more. The folklore ensemble turns out to be a miniature version of the imagined community described by Benedict Anderson, imagined because members of the group may not know, or even dislike other members, "yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (1991: 6). The bonds of kinship, love, and friendship which crisscross each group (as they also crisscross every nation) nevertheless strengthen each individual's feelings

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<sup>19</sup> Tape recorded interview, 19 March 1992.

of belonging to the group. These bonds are joined by another cohesive force, that of a common culture as mediated by a charismatic leader.

### Group Traditions and National Culture

The goals of the urban folklore ensembles —the replication, revival, and maintenance of archaic peasant musical traditions in modern urban culture— recall Hobsbawm's definition of "invented tradition":

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past [1983: 1].

"Invention," points out Benedict Anderson, need not denote "fabrication" or "falsity," but may also mean "imagining" and "creation," actions which he sees as the foundation of all human groups held together by culture, including modern nations as well as other groups of people (1991: 6). The members of folklore ensembles believe that they are continuing archaic traditions inherited from their ancestors; among their ancestors are people belonging to all of the regional cultures of their nation.

The songs performed by the three folklore ensembles should be defined as national culture, since different regional traditions are performed together by the same people, for the sole reason that they belong to the cultural heritage of the Lithuanian, Estonian, or Latvian nation. All regions are represented in each ensemble's repertoire, with each region maintaining its ethnographic distinctions (language, melodies, performance style). The songs are in many ways similar to their singers, who usually prefer to lead songs of their native or ancestral regions: In Leegajus, Ain Sarv's family roots are in Tartumaa, while his wife, Õie,

is of Setu extraction. Just as they have married the very different ethnic traditions of two regions in their family, the Sarvs (like other ensemble members) find no contradictions in performing songs of the Estonian regions to which they have no family ties. The repertoire of Skandinieki, like the background of its members, has even broader roots: In addition to various Latvian regional song traditions, Livonian songs are led by the Stalti, Lithuanian songs are led by two members of Lithuanian ancestry —Rita Misūne and Stasis Jonkus, and Estonian songs are led by Līga Sovere, who is half Estonian. The ensemble, a nation in miniature, maintains a miniature version of national (or even international Baltic) culture in its song repertoire.

It is the ensemble leaders who make the final decisions about the group's repertoire of songs, defining one version of national culture to the members of the group. Their choices are often based on artistic intuition, as have been the choices of many national activists before them. The success of their nation-building is determined in part by the resonance which their aesthetic choices will find among other people, who will either accept the leader's culture or reject it (Hobsbawm 1983b: 307).

Leaders of small groups such as the folklore ensembles depend on the unanimous support of the group members, much more so than do the leaders of the masses commonly studied in nationalism research. In a crowd of many thousands, for example, dissident voices may be drowned out by acclamation, but in the face-to-face community of a voluntary group, even a single voice of outspoken opposition threatens the group's cohesion. The ensemble leader must either express an ideology and present a culture which is acceptable to all group members, or exclude dissenting persons.

### Communities, Singing Traditions, and Individuals

The members of these leading folklore ensembles are not submissive followers or passive imitators. They are, as their leaders and other members describe them (and I agree) "the strong branches," "a kind of active person, with something of a soloist's character," persons who choose to join the group on their own, and actively recreate the group's singing traditions according to their own personality and taste. They are not self-centered individualists, however, because "being in an ensemble always means suppressing the 'I' in favor of the others." The ensemble is "like a true family" to them. Most importantly of all, the most dynamic members of the folklore ensemble are, as Tõnurist and Kelmickaitė put it, "present-day, contemporary people," who, while singing songs of a past epoch, "don't have to pretend that it is the olden days."<sup>20</sup>

Such individuals are preferred when the ensembles allow new members into the group. With the exception of Ratilių, which at the height of the Lithuanian folklore movement in the late eighties held annual auditions where one hundred students competed for admission into the ensemble, the rehearsals of the three ensembles have generally been open to persons who wanted to try out for membership. If they prove to have good voices and talent for leading songs, they become members. If not, they usually leave of their own accord. To enter the singing community, a person must be able to balance individual creativity with the group's traditions; she or he must be able to lead songs, but must also be willing to accompany others, and to defer to the ensemble's leader. This has been true in all

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<sup>20</sup> Tape recorded interviews: Helmī and Dainis Stalts, 29 June 1992; Igor Tõnurist, 19 March 1992; Zita Kelmickaitė, 24 November 1991.

of the ensembles, where, regardless of personality conflicts which might erupt at any time, matters of singing style, repertoire, and performances are all decided by the leader.

Leaders do not lead the many individuals in the group by decree or by force, but rather, they gain followers by guiding the ensemble onto the path of discovery along which they themselves have gone, recreating for others the extraordinary experiences and revelations which they consider to be at the center of their own life histories: Immediately after Kelmickaitė began leading Ratilio, she took the students on an ethnographic expedition to no other place than Dzūkija, where she herself had once seen singers who impressed her for life. Her descriptions of excited students discovering new songs, as mediated by herself, the ensemble leader, closely parallel Kelmickaitė's own encounter with living song tradition, mediated by the expert ethnomusicologist who took her on that expedition. In Estonia, since the founding years of Leegajus, Tõnurist maintained his friendship with Lithuanian singers, who had once catalyzed his awakening to Estonian songs. A lasting friendship was established between his ensemble and Sadauja in Vilnius, and the two ensembles travelled many times to visit each other and to perform together. Tõnurist also instilled in the ensemble members his own demand for ethnographic accuracy in folklore performances. Several times, while watching other ensembles perform together with members of Leegajus, I noticed that they criticized details which did not correspond to the traditions about which they had learned in ensemble rehearsals.

Folksongs and folklore have provided the leaders of Skandinieki with revelations of deep and long-lasting impact. The favorite strategy of Dainis and Helmī Stalti, in attempting to convince others —both group members and the audiences at concerts— that Latvian folk traditions must be maintained, has been an attempt to reveal to each person some personal tie to folk traditions and singing, to awaken an interest in one's individual, local heritage:

Dainis Stalts: When we went to Talsi, we began by sincerely thanking the people of Talsi for the wealth that they've given their nation. — "How so?" — "You see, these songs and legends, they're all from the Talsi district. And we thank you from the bottom of our heart."

Helmī Stalte: These people felt a bit uncomfortable. Here we are, thanking them for something about which they know nothing. And they simply awoke there. In every place, a small group awoke. And that was our most important task.<sup>21</sup>

Several members of Skandinieki today are persons like the people described by the Stalti.

One such person, for example, was Valda Vītola, who told me about her shame when she, a person who considered herself a good singer (in choirs), met Skandinieki member Velta Leja, who knew dozens of beautiful Latvian folksongs which Vītola had never heard.

Through the example and instruction of their leaders, members of all three groups have discovered within themselves the gifts needed for the mastery of folksongs. Traditional singing requires a different voice timbre, and different musical abilities, than the classical choral music which children are taught in school. Thus persons who were told as children that they have no musical talent, have discovered abilities which they never imagined to exist. The art of leading a song, and of singing out one's own thoughts, comes hand in hand with a "certain worldview," as described by many persons with whom I spoke. The three leaders described the typical ensemble members: "These are people who are happy and satisfied with life"<sup>22</sup>; "There are people... who haven't even sung in choirs, and they can barely squeak.

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<sup>21</sup> Tape recorded interview, 27 July 1990. (Dainis): "Un sagatavojām īpašas programmas— tieši tai vietā pierakstīto folkloras materiālu. Piemēram, kad braucām uz Talsiem. Un vispirms sirsnīgi pateicāmies talsiniekiem par to lielo bagātību, ko viņi ir devuši savai tautai. —'Kā tā?' —'Lūk, šīs dziesmas un šīs teikas un šie nostāsti ir visi no Talsu novada. Un mēs sirsnīgi par to pateicamies.' Un tad vēl līvu folkloras materiāli.... Un tad mums tā izveidojās tas tāds labs paņēmieni. Pamazām, palēnām."

(Helmī): "Tiem ļaudīm palika neērti, ka mēs pateicamies, un viņi paši nekā nezina. Un tad, tad tur modās vienkārši. Katrā vietinā modās kāda grupiņa. Un tas bija tas svarīgākais mūsu uzdevums."

<sup>22</sup> Igor Tõnurist, tape recorded interview, 19 March 1992.

After three or four months, he is a lead singer, he has self-esteem. First of all, the person's self-esteem rises. It is a complex process, it is something fantastic"<sup>23</sup>; "closed people, closed-off members of the ensemble suddenly open up, a pure miracle has occurred."<sup>24</sup>

The power of folksongs, like the cohesion of the groups, depends on a combination of individual creativity and communal tradition. Without the individual lead singers, it is impossible for the group to sing in the ethnographic style; without the group, songs lose the essential effect created by a polyphony of voices. There is a feeling of fulfillment in group songs, a sense of energy coming from some secret reservoir, which many persons have described to me: A member of Ratilio, for example, told me that her headaches disappear and that she is enveloped by a feeling of calm harmony when she sings sutartinės. At the rehearsals of Skandinieki and Leegajus in December 1991 and January 1992, I saw a transcendence above the depression caused by the brevity of winter days and fatigue from life made difficult by great transformations in the national economies. Helmī Stalte described similar situations in earlier years, when the ensemble members would arrive at the rehearsal, tired, drained, exhausted, depressed:

And Dainis and I arrive, and we're thinking, "Devil take it!" We have to give those people strength, but we ourselves are like a couple of sponges squeezed dry. What can we give?" It is enough for everybody to come and stand in a circle, they begin to sing, and a miracle happens. And by the end of the rehearsal, we are so full, and it seems that we have just begun.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Helmī Stalte, tape recorded interview, 27 July 1990.

<sup>24</sup> Zita Kelmickaitė, tape recorded interview, 19 May 1992.

<sup>25</sup> Tape recorded interview, 27 July 1990. "Un mēs ar Daini atnākam un domājam: 'Velns parāvis. Mums taču jādod tiem cilvēkiem spēks un enerģija, bet mēs paši esam kā tādi izspiesti sūkļi. Ko mēs varam dot? —Pietiek sanākt visi, aplī mēs sastājamies, sākam dziedāt un notiek pilnīgi brīnums. Un uz mēģinājuma beigām mēs esam piepildīti, ka liekas, ka nu tik var sākt darīt."

Singing traditions form the strongest of the bonds which hold folklore ensembles together. All other factors vary: the nominal leader of the ensemble delegates leadership to others who lead songs during performance. Members of the ensemble are attracted to the group, and welded into it, by a combination of kinship, love, and friendship, but are divided by personal conflicts. Each of them accepts folksongs as a national heritage which must be maintained, and each wishes to sing songs as they were sung by many earlier generations of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. Reasons for maintaining these traditions vary from individual to individual: Some members find aesthetic pleasure in the music, some strengthen ties to the region from which their parents, grandparents, or ancestors came, others find an outlet for artistic expression, and still others experience extraordinary revelations during song performances.

Multiple meanings have always been characteristic of folk tradition. These meanings converge in the folklore ensemble's goals: the replication, revival, and maintenance of folk tradition. The "unisonance" described by Anderson as he observes the national community singing, merging into one, is only one side of the songs which move a nation. The other side is the individual joy of creating art. It is no longer an occasion which can be described by rational language, as even the best singers and thinkers in the movement admit: "It is difficult to even put it into words and tell everything about it," concludes Helmī Stalte, "a miracle happens" when people sing folksongs. In the Baltic folksong traditions, part of that exhilarating experience comes from melting into a singing, harmonious collective, but the other part, an experience with profound influence in the lives of many ensemble members, is the intoxicating, powerful feeling which accompanies the creation of folk poetry, when an individual becomes a lead singer.



## Conclusion

Each of the three folklore ensembles is but one of the hundreds, perhaps thousands of formal and informal groups which make up the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian nations. Folklore ensembles were singing at the center of the Singing Revolution, for their songs were the ones most closely identified with national culture, but all other groups whose members came to the massive demonstrations of the late 1980s also were mediators of national identity to their members.

The relationship between the nation and each of its individual members, the means by which national identity provides individuals a means of locating themselves in the world, writes Anthony Smith, is "the key to national identity" and also a most baffling puzzle, because agreement has not been reached on the criteria for national self-definition and location:

Because of the many kinds of national self that present themselves in practice (a natural result of the multifaceted nature of the nation), nationalist doctrine has been attacked as logically contradictory and incoherent.... At best the idea of the nation has appeared sketchy and elusive, at worst absurd and contradictory [1993: 17].

This chapter has presented descriptions of three groups which pursue activities charged with national symbolism. Both in their informal rehearsals and in their formal performances, the folklore ensembles are microcosms of the nations which they represent, singing songs from the different regions of the national territory, recalling ancestral ties to that territory and the people who sang there, uniting in the group persons of many different backgrounds and personal motivations. Whatever contradictions may exist in the beliefs which tie individual to nation, exist also in the small community of the folklore ensemble. Differences among

individuals give way to the desire to sing, to participate in the culture of the group, and to pass that culture on to other members of the nation.

In these small groups, the individuals I met experienced powerful events which shaped their national identity. It is here that they discovered a means of personal expression which changed their lives, and that means of expression —traditional singing— was tied to great transformations in the life of the nation, to the successful battle for the survival of the national culture. Without these groups, the recent history of the Baltic nations is incomplete.

PHOTOGRAPHS, CHAPTER FOUR



15. *Ratilio* at *Skamba, skamba kankliai* Folklore Festival, Old Town Vilnius, Lithuania, 31 May 1992. Eighth from left is Zita Kelmickaitė.



16. Zita Kelmickaitė playing field recordings at *Ratilio* rehearsal, Vilnius, 13 May 1992.



17. *Ratilio* rehearsal, Vilnius University Faculty of Medicine Building, Vilnius, Lithuania, 30 October 1991.



18. *Ratilio* instrument room, 30 October 1991.



19. *Leegajus* at *Viru säru* Folklore Festival, Lahemaa National Park, 4 July 1992.



20. *Leegajus* rehearsal, Teachers Hall, Tallinn, Estonia, 17 March 1992. Second from left is Ain Sarv, fifth from left is Igor Tõnurist.



21. Game-dance at *Leegajus* performance, Teachers' Hall, Tallinn, Estonia, 17 March 1992.



22. Dainis Stalts, Oskars Stalts, and Julgī Stalte, at the *Baltica 91* Folklore Festival opening, Open Air Ethnographic Museum, Rīga, Latvia, 11 July 1991.



23. *Skandinieki* at Finno-Ugric Day, Baltica 91, Dainu Kalns Park, Sigulda, Latvia, 12 July 1991.



24. *Skandinieki*, Summer Solstice 1992.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### LEADERS OF THE FOLKLORE MOVEMENT:

#### ZITA KELMICKAITĖ, IGOR TŌNURIST, DAINIS AND HELMĪ STALTE

Two components of the Baltic folklore movement have been discussed in earlier chapters of this dissertation: The tradition of singing in the folk style, which developed in opposition to official Soviet culture, and the singing community of the folklore ensemble. This chapter approaches the remaining, third component of Baltic folklorism—the active bearer of tradition, the community leader and lead singer without whom traditions break off. Each of the leaders of the three leading folklore ensembles has shaped the movement by inspiring many to imitate, repeat, and reinterpret an unconventional style of singing, and each must be introduced individually.

The leaders of Ratilio, Leegajus, and Skandinieki are professional folklorists. They collect, analyze, and archive folklore, and teach others about the folk cultures of the Baltic region as a part of their everyday jobs. It was the participation of these folklorists who are experienced in fieldwork, and their emphasis on scholarly, ethnographic research as the main foundation for the reproduction of folk traditions, which caused the folklore movement to break out of the officially sponsored Soviet mass culture. Their reasons for embracing folklorism (in contrast to folklore research without public activism) are a part of the movement's history. The leaders are all gifted performers of folksongs, and have led their ensembles for more than a decade and a half, teaching a new generation of folklore ensemble leaders who have founded their own ensembles and carried the movement throughout the



three republics. These leaders are also active on the national level, as travelling lecturers, authors, and most importantly, as organizers of national and international folklore festivals.

Zita Kelmickaitė, Leader of Ratilio

"Energetic, quick-witted, and eloquent, she is like an atomic reactor powering the ensemble," writes a close acquaintance (Bradūnaitė-Aglinskienė 1989: 3), echoing words written about Zita Kelmickaitė by an interviewer a decade ago:

I can barely keep up with her as she runs down the hall. When we finally have a seat in the hallway, our conversation is not a series of questions and answers, though this has been agreed upon earlier, but a mixture of thoughts, arguments, and excursions in all directions.... You are forced to jump along behind her, you are provoked; suddenly, the questions are directed at you [Tirvaitė 1984].

Among the members of the Vilnius University ensemble, Kelmickaitė is both loved and disliked. She is loved for the knowledge of living folklore traditions and singing skills which she has taught to many, and for the sense of pride and self-confidence which she has instilled in every person who has sung in her ensemble. She is disliked for her temper, for the many sudden, unexpected changes in plans and programs which she demands at rehearsals as well as during concerts. She leads the group by intuitive choices made at moment's notice, and is quick to attack anybody who dares oppose her point of view. The younger women fear her sharp criticism when they are not singing up to her standards, and yet she is also able to inspire them to sing extraordinarily well. Her memory for songs —both words and melodies— is astounding, and her deep, clear voice stands out in any group which she leads in song.

Zita Kelmickaitė was born on October 19, 1951, in Klaipėda. Her parents, both born in the rural Raseinių District, moved to Klaipėda after the Second World War, at a time when

that port city was growing rapidly as a result of intensified industrialization. Her father, Vladas Kelmickas (1922-1975), had six brothers and a sister; he was a tailor, and "tailors are usually very enjoyable people," a characteristic which she has inherited from him. Her mother, Petronė Berdinskaitė-Kelmickienė (born 1929), had three brothers and three sisters, and gave Zita the strong gift of common sense so typical of Lithuanian country people. Zita's parents loved to sing in company, as did all of her aunts and uncles; she acquired this love from them, just as she acquired a knack for colorful speech from her mother's relatives. Zita has one brother, Edmondas Kelmickas (born 1954), who is a poet presently living in Klaipėda.

Like many Lithuanians of her generation, Kelmickaitė identifies strongly with the ethnographic region of her roots, Žemaitija (Northwest Lithuania), and the traditional characteristics of the Žemaičiai (inhabitants of the region): "I am a Žemaitė, and I am a very stubborn person. And I'll get what I want!" "The Žemaičiai are unsentimental people," "with lots of vitality, great optimists, with a strong character," a description which fits her very well. She is less inclined toward the Catholic religion which her mother and aunts hold, because she dislikes the practice of mandatory, anonymous confession, and the mass rituals of the Catholic church.<sup>1</sup>

As a teenager, Kelmickaitė set out on a musical career when she attended S. Šimkaus Music School in Klaipėda, a secondary school with music concentration. She studied the History of Music at the Vilnius Conservatory, where she had a fateful experience as a first-year student in 1971. That year, the ethnographic expeditions of Vilnius students were at their peak. A group of these enthusiastic students in a village in Southeast Lithuania set the atmosphere for Kelmickaitė's first encounter with folk singers. They were unlike any singers

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<sup>1</sup> Tape recorded interview, 10 October 1991.

that she had ever seen. So impressed was she with the singing prowess of these women, "who, for example, could sing seventy songs in one day, easily, sitting down," and also with the fieldwork experience of her instructor, Danutė Krištopaitė, that Kelmickaitė began to study folksongs independently, alongside her regular coursework. Emulating both the singers and the scholar who knew them so well, Kelmickaitė herself became a scholar and singer. She graduated from the Conservatory with distinction<sup>2</sup> in 1975.

After one year of teaching at the Conservatory's branch campus in Klaipėda, and one year as music editor for the cultural weekly newspaper, Literatūra ir Menas, Kelmickaitė was invited to begin lecturing on folk music at her alma mater, Vilnius Conservatory, where she continues to teach today. She has taught topics such as the History of Music, 20th-Century Russian Music, and, since 1989, Ethnomusicology. In 1980, she enrolled in the graduate program in Leningrad at the Institute of Theater, Cinematography, and Music, under the guidance of Izalii Zemtsovskii. Commuting between Leningrad and Vilnius for three years, she completed requirements for doctoral candidacy in 1983. She is writing her dissertation on the aesthetics of folklore performance, with a comparative analysis of the singing traditions in traditional villages and those which exist in urban folklore revival ensembles. Her conference papers and publications address, among other topics, folksong aesthetics and the practical and theoretical issues of modern folksong revival (see Bibliography).

In the early 1970's, while Kelmickaitė was studying in Vilnius, many folklore ensembles were emerging in the first wave of the folklore movement, and ethnographic concerts became commonplace. She regularly attended the concerts of the Vilnius University Ethnographic Ensemble after 1974, when Laima Burkšaitienė, a lecturer at the Conservatory,

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<sup>2</sup> Upon graduation in the Soviet academic system, superior students were awarded what was officially called the "Red Diploma."

was leader of that group. Burkšaitienė invited Kelmickaitė to replace her as leader of the ensemble in 1976. Under Kelmickaitė's leadership, the group grew into one of Lithuania's leading folklore ensembles, earning republic-wide distinction in 1981.

As a leader of a popular ensemble, Kelmickaitė entered the community of folklore movement leaders in Vilnius, and began participating in the organizing committee of the city folklore festival, Skamba, skamba kankliai.<sup>3</sup> In 1985, when folklore performances were for the first time included in the official program of the National Song Festival, Kelmickaitė was chosen as director of the folklore portion of the festival program.

Kelmickaitė has also had a political agenda in her work as leader of the university ensemble, and as organizer of many folklore festivals. She, like many other Lithuanians, recognized the power of songs in the face of a totalitarian government. While she avoided openly saying anything that might bring reprisals, she devoted herself to developing her ensemble to its highest potential, recreating the singing traditions of the best rural singers in such a way that they would cause audiences and singers to be proud of their heritage: "I think that every job well done is the best politics of all."<sup>4</sup> During the Soviet attack in January of 1991, Zita saw the fruits of the seeds that she and other leaders of the folklore movement helped plant, in the activities of the Lithuanian public. Her ensemble also went out onto the barricades, singing songs to muster the bravery of the Lithuanians, advancing the nonviolent movement for independence. She described these events several times to different audiences, among them, a meeting of Russian ethnomusicologists in St. Petersburg in

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<sup>3</sup> In the festival's archives, her name first appears on the list of organizers only in 1981, but as leader of the university ensemble, however, she participated in the committee meetings already in the late seventies.

<sup>4</sup> Tape recorded interview, 24 November 1991. "Aš manau, kad kiekvienas gerai atliktas darbas yra didžiausia politika."

November of 1991, during a discussion about the goals of folklorists and ethnomusicologists in the modern world:

And you know, the most wonderful thing of all— I give this example everywhere I go, because it's that kind of situation. On the thirteenth of January [1991], during those events, we're standing there with the students near the Television Studios. They've already begun to drive forward, the tanks, that is, and instead of— you're thinking, "What should I do, should I run, should I hide, should I lie down or what should I do." Nobody believes that these tanks are really driving toward us. They're coming. And there, next to me, an elderly lady sees that things have already turned for the worse.... And she turns to me and says, "What do you think, what would be the better thing to do: Should we pray, or should we sing?" Those two things, nothing else. To pray or to sing. Only two possibilities. To run, to do something! But no. Either to sing, or to pray. And this, this is what ethnomusicologists have accomplished.<sup>5</sup>

The members of Ratilio tell me that they joined the ensemble for various reasons— usually because their friends were in the group. The ensemble and its leader have left a mark on them, however. Ratilio stands out among the folklore ensembles of Vilnius. There is an atmosphere which comes on stage, a self-assuredness and pride which cannot be taught with simple words.

In spring of 1992, Kelmickaitė returned from her dissertation-writing to the rehearsals, helping the group prepare for upcoming performances at folklore festivals in Kaunas and Vilnius. As the young women rehearsed the sutartinė, "Sleepyhead is sleeping" (the performance is described in Chapter One), Kelmickaitė sat by the back of the stage,

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<sup>5</sup> Tape recorded group discussion after Izalii Zemtsovskii's lecture at the Institute of Theater, Music and Film, St. Petersburg, 13 November 1991. "I vy znaete, samoe unikal'noe— Ia vezde daiu etot primer seichas, potomu chto eta vse-taki takaia situatsiia, 13-ogo, kak raz, chisla, 13-ogo ianvaria vo vremia etikh sobytii. My stoim so studentami okolo televideniia. Uzhe nachali ekhat' vpered, znachit, tanki, i vmesto togo, chto— Ty dolzhen dumat', nu kak to, bezhat'! Spasat's'ia! Tut lozhit's'ia ili chto delat'! Nikto ne verit, chto vse-taki te tanki poedut nas. Oni uzhe edut. Znachit, tut, znachit, eto iz— pozhilaia zhenshchina stoit riadom so mnoi i ona uzhe vidit, chto tut uzhe delo plokho. Tut uzhe— «Kak vy dumaete, chto seichas luchshe delat', ili molit's'ia ili pet'?» Znachit, eto dve, nichego bol'she. Ili molit's'ia, ili pet'. Znachit, dve vozmozhnosti. Ili bezhat', ili nuzhno— Nichego. Ili molit's'ia, ili pet'. I vot opiat' vot chto— byt' muzykovedom."

conversing in a low voice with an older member, watching with one eye, then suddenly jumped up and interrupted the song-dance, speaking in gestures and half words, phrases which become incomprehensible when transcribed: "You are much too young! You are too meek! You are like this! [walking, swaggering speaking in a deep voice] Huh! Huh! Women, village women, with five or six children! But no, you are something like this! [in a meek, feminine voice] 'Snaudala snaudžia—' But no! Like this! Sing it again! Asta, you start!"<sup>6</sup> The young women's backs straighten more confidently, they sing again, closer this time to the self-assured and world wise village women whom they have met during expeditions, and to the leader who also is not a meek person.

Igor Tõnurist, Leader of Leegajus

The leader of Leegajus gives his group the scholarly foundations without which this Estonian folklore ensemble would lose its character. The Tallinn public which regularly attends the group's performances expects more than evenings of light entertainment (though they are also entertained) and fun dancing (though they also enjoy the dances). The audience is well educated in matters of folklore. For more than two decades, Estonian cultural leaders have propagated the study of the Estonian traditional regional cultures and their place among the Finno-Ugric cultures with which the Estonians share ancient roots. When Estonian intellectuals listen to the music of the very popular composer, Veljo Tormis, they expect the music to reflect as closely as possible the musics and spiritual worlds of the Finno-Ugric peoples; the same is true of the works written by poet Jaan Kaplinski about Finno-Ugric myth, the art of Kaljo Põllu, the films of Lennart Meri.

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<sup>6</sup> Tape recorded at rehearsal, 20 May 1992.

From Leegajus, audiences expect accurate performances of Estonian folk music traditions as they once existed in the countryside. The ensemble members know that in knowledge about folklore, none of them can match Tõnurist, who was trained in one of the best ethnography programs in the former Soviet Union (graduated from Moscow University in 1969), and also has the most extensive experience in ethnographic fieldwork and research. Only a few of the ensemble members have gone on folklore collecting expeditions, but none comes close to Tõnurist in amounts of material collected or research done in Estonian archives. He is able, at moment's notice, to give a lecture about Estonian folk clothes, about any obscure detail regarding folk instruments in the Baltic region, about the burial practices of the inhabitants of Estonia in the Viking Age, or any other topic even remotely connected to Estonian folk traditions, including, of course, folksongs. His judgment in matters of singing style and the ensemble's performance programs is accepted by the group. As in Ratilio, however, respect for his knowledge is countered by personal tensions in matters other than folklore performance. His stubborn unwillingness to give in on any disagreement, some Estonians tell me, is a typical Estonian character trait.

Tõnurist was born in 1947 in Keila, a small town twenty kilometers southwest of Tallinn, where his father was stationed on a military base. His family background is full of complexities which defy explanations for his loyalty to Estonian folklore. His father, Valter Tõnurist, was born in 1918 in Ljelino, an Estonian village on the Russian side of the northeastern border (Volosovo raion). His mother, Janina (née Varaksa, 1922-1984), was Belarusian, born in Minsk. Russian was the main language of everyday life. But Tõnurist's father's mother, Rosalie Tõnurist (née Malt, 1885-1977), spoke little Russian, and from her, Igor and his brother learned Estonian.

It was in the local Russian primary school that Tõnurist first became conscious of his own Estonian identity. When Estonian language lessons began in the fourth grade, Tõnurist recalls, he realized to his own shame that he was illiterate in this language. At home, his grandmother began tutoring him in reading and writing; his teacher, Meeta Laansoo (a survivor of deportation to Siberia) noticed his interest in Estonian culture, and supported it. She helped him enroll in the Children's Music School, where he learned to play the Estonian national instrument, the kannel. Laansoo also introduced Tõnurist to the Estonian ethnographers at the Tartu Ethnography Museum and the Academy of Sciences in Tallinn. At home with his grandmother, Tõnurist began collecting ethnographic materials using the guidelines published by the Museum, and in his early teens he decided that he would be an ethnographer.

Although he knew how to play the kannel, Tõnurist would never have become a performer of folk music and song if, while studying at Moscow University, he had not met some Lithuanian women who sang the songs in the style that they had learned in the emerging Lithuanian folksong revival. Struck by the power of Lithuanian songs, and perhaps, as he says, feeling a portion of Lithuanian blood which he inherited from his mother's father's ancestors, Tõnurist learned to sing in Lithuanian. His friendship with the Lithuanian folklorists began here, leading to many trips and folklore expeditions together with his Baltic colleagues. Tõnurist cannot explain why he turned to Estonian folklore, but notes only that it was while singing with the Lithuanians that he was struck by the thought, "But why couldn't I also sing Estonian folksongs in the folkloric manner?" The year that he completed his degree in Moscow, an article published by a popular Estonian poet convinced him that he had to begin singing. In a frayed, yellowed clipping of the article which he lent to me, several sentences are underlined in dark pencil:



It is, in a way, surprising how thoroughly the Estonians have been able to forget their own folksongs.... Ignoring and forgetting [these songs] testifies, not to the high level of our musical taste, but to our carelessness and snobbism [Kaplinski 1969; underlining by Tõnurist].

Convinced that the songs should be revived as a part of Estonian culture, he began looking for like-minded people in Tallinn after he returned from Moscow. Answering an advertisement seeking persons interested in learning to play the bagpipes for the opening ceremonies of the Dance Festival in 1970, Tõnurist met two other musicians, Ain Sarv and Toivo Luhats, with whom he continued to play and sing after the festival. When they were joined by several ethnographers from the Estonian Academy of Sciences, Leegajus was born. On trips to southeastern Estonia, Tõnurist studied the unusual singing style and harmonies of the Setu, and learned the art himself by singing together with the old singers of that region. Later, he was interviewed on a television broadcast about Setu singers, attracting into the group several Setu women who lived in Tallinn.

As Leegajus grew, Tõnurist remained the main specialist on ethnography. As a member of the Communist party,<sup>7</sup> he had the power to defend his ensemble when it was criticized for "nationalistic activity." Ain Sarv calls him the "diplomat" who ensured that the group would not be banned while at the same time not making compromises regarding repertoire and singing style.<sup>8</sup>

In spite of the arguments that were needed to justify the founding of Leegajus, that it was an "experiment" in the study of folksong traditions, Tõnurist's participation in the ensemble is not a dry, impersonal academic enterprise. "I am one of the lucky people for

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<sup>7</sup> Tõnurist joined the Communist Party in 1973, for idealistic reasons: "For many years, there was no possibility for the intelligentsia, and the Academy scholars in particular, to join the Party. And there was a general trend at this time, that, like in Lithuania earlier, 'Let's join the Party and take more power into our own hands'." Tape recorded interview, 25 March 1992.

<sup>8</sup> Ain Sarv, tape recorded interview, 30 March 1992.

whom the hobby and the job are one and the same,"<sup>9</sup> he smiles, and it is apparent that he enjoys singing songs as much as he enjoys lecturing about them. Knowledge of folk poetry traditions has made it easy for him to entertain his acquaintances, for example, by creating songs at a few minutes notice to honor a colleague's birthday.

Tõnurist's identification with Estonian culture, both folk culture and contemporary national culture, is a matter of choice. In his family, it would have been easier to maintain only his mother's language as a means of everyday communication, and through that language to identify with Russian culture. For some reason, he chose the language of his grandmother. He refuses, however, to be called a "nationalist," a term which carries negative connotations:

I have never been a nationalist, and I could never be one, either, simply because of my own situation. An Estonian ethnographer who has gone all his life to Russian-language schools, and speaks Russian at home, simply cannot be a nationalist. But still, as much as I have been able to, I have always fought for the preservation of my culture and its uniqueness, and for its continuation.<sup>10</sup>

When Tõnurist refers to "my culture," it is always the Estonian culture that he is thinking of. Endangered by powerful foreign cultures, the Estonian culture must be preserved; threatened by modernity, Estonian folk culture must be defended even more tenuously:

And I am not disturbed by the things that come here from elsewhere. But I am of the opinion that the ethnic culture must be preserved, perhaps in a folklore ensemble. So that the tradition doesn't die out. Leegajus is a kind of preserver. We learn a certain regivärss song, or some other song, or some

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<sup>9</sup> Tape recorded interview, 25 March 1992. "Olen üks õnnelik inimene, kelle jaoks hobby ja põhitöö on ühtinud."

<sup>10</sup> Tape recorded interview, 27 February 1992. (Guntis): "Siis kas sina ütlesid, et sa oled natsionalist?" (Igor): "Ei ole." (Guntis): "Mitte selles halvas tähenduses, aga ükskõik." (Igor): "Ei, halvas tähenduses ei ole mina olnud, ei saa olla ka, lihtsalt oma päritolu tõttu. Eesti etnograaf või folklorist on venekeelse hariduse saanud ja räägib kodus venekeelt, siis ei saa natsionalist lausa olla. Aga siiski, nii palju, kui ma olen saanud, ma olen ikka võidelnud just selle oma kultuuri puhtuse säilitamise eest, või siis taastamise eest."

instrumental piece, and in this way we preserve the sound. As long as we live, it is preserved, then another generation will come, or other young people will begin to sing, and in this way it will be preserved....

And I am of the opinion that, if we don't preserve it, this cultural tradition of ours, that our own culture will become poorer. That we are interesting to others for the things that they don't have. Which many of our cultural leaders don't understand. They want to be like the Americans, they want to be like the Finns. This is certainly one of the fundamental problems in the history of Estonian and also Latvian culture.<sup>11</sup>

The reasons why Estonian folklore should be collected, studied, and performed, then, are related to the preservation of difference in human cultures around the world. Tõnurist sees his own activities in an international context:

And it is interesting that this acquaintance with folklore has been very useful to me. And I've noticed that when, for example, folklore ensembles from different nations come together, then they get along very well among themselves.... All have the same status, there is no nationalism here, or chauvinism, or anything. And this is apparently on a certain level of human communication, where people understand one another, and— And there is an understanding of just why this Estonian is singing his own folksong, and the Estonian understands why the Russian is singing his own song. And nobody forces themselves on the others.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Tape recorded interview, 25 March 1992. "Ja ma vaatan küllaltgi rahulikult sellele, mis tuleb mujalt juurde niimoodi. Aga ma olen sellepools, et tuleb ikkagi oma niisugust etnilist kultuuri rohkem, nagu teadlikult täiesti säilitada, või seda, noh, kas või folkloori ansamblina. Et meil kaob see, et see traditsioon ära ei kao, et me-- Tegelikult, ütleme, "Leegajus" on ka teatud säilitaja. Me võtame õpimisele regivärssi, või mingisuguse laulu või pilliloo, ja nii säilitame seda helis nüüd ju, ikkagi. Seni ka, kui me ise elame, see säilib, siin tuleb teine põlvkond juurde, või teised need noored hakkavad laulma, see ikka niimoodi see säilib....

Ja ma olen sedameelt, et kui me seda ei säilita, oma seda kultuuritraditsiooni, et meie enda kultuur jääb vaesemaks. Et meie oleme teistele alati huvitavad sellepooles, mida neil ei ole. Mida meie paljud meie kultuurijuhid ei saa aru. Nad tahavad olla nagu ameeriklased, nad tahavad olla nagu soomlased. See on tegelikult ka meie eesti ja ka läti kultuuri ajaloo üks niisugune alusprobleem. Kunagi tahtsime olla nagu sakslased. Tahtsime laulda nagu sakslased, *Liedertafelid*, ja mängida puhkpillid, nagu sakslased. Ilmselt see on meis sees ikka. Kogu aeg olla samal tasemel, nagu teised."

<sup>12</sup> Tape recorded interview, 25 March 1992. "Ja huvitav, et nüüd just see folklooriga tutvumine on vot minule väga kasuks olnud. Ja ma olen märkanud, et, kui, näiteks, erirahvastest need folklooriansamblid kokku saavad, siis saavad väga hästi omavahel läbi.... Kõik on nagu ühel tasandil, mingisugust natsionalismi seal ei ole, ega šovinismi, ega mitte midagi.... Ja see on jälle ilmselt teatud inimlik tasandil, kus inimesed mõistavad teine teist, ja— Ja siis saavad aru, miks just see eestlane laulab oma rahvalaulu, ja siis oma eestlane saaba aru, miks see venelane laulab oma rahvalaulu. Ja keegi ei suru ennast peale teisele."

### Dainis and Helmī Stalts, Leaders of Skandinieki

"The Stalts family is not simply leading a folklore group, but rather, they are incessantly breaking down, destroying, fragmenting the mistrust that exists among people," wrote a journalist in 1988, when the Singing Revolution was breaking out in Latvia, sparked off by a massive procession in Rīga led by Dainis Stalts carrying the flag of independent Latvia (Bergmanis 1988). Such vivid demonstrations of political opposition are one side of the lives of Dainis and Helmī Stalti. When offered the option of conforming to the Soviet system, they usually chose open confrontation. In 1978, they organized a petition signed by prominent authors and poets, protesting the fact that the new Soviet passport laws did not allow Livonians to enter "Livonian" as their nationality; in 1979, during a live performance on Latvian Television, they changed their ensemble's approved program to sing a folksong of war, "On the ground by the field I laid my head, defending my fatherland." When the Livonian ensemble was invited to perform at the meeting of the Finland-USSR friendship society, Dainis Stalts read out loud a letter by Maksim Gorkii to the Finnish artist Akseli Gallen-Kallela, warning him against collaboration with the tsarist Russian government.<sup>13</sup> When the cultural administrators began steering the Latvian folklore movement onto the path of conformity with Soviet folklorism, the Stalti doubled their efforts in propagating the loud, unrefined style of ethnographic singing. When official sources began promoting the use of

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<sup>13</sup> "The fact is, that if you live next to a greedy person, immoral and profane, you must know that that person is always your enemy and —no matter how softly he may speak, no matter what he may promise— he is lying, he will betray you, the scoundrel that he is! [...] The government of Finland has forgotten with whom it is dealing— this is a mistake, I think. The government of Finland must always think about the needs of its people, it should worry itself with organizing defense in case of a possible attack from the side of the Russian government, and not play games, flirt with this government, as the Finnish Senate has done more than once" (Gorkii 1953, Vol. 24: 20-23).

folklore and folk customs to combat religion, Skandinieki moved toward a revival of the pre-Christian (pagan) beliefs and rituals which they found in folklore.

Dainis Stalts is not a man of compromise. He does not hide his hatred for the regime which committed inhuman crimes against his family and acquaintances, nor his contempt for any person who collaborated with the Soviets by signing denunciations or becoming an informer. He is outspoken and harsh in this regard, openly naming names of persons whom he doesn't trust, and he has acquired many enemies in Latvia for this reason.

This is one side of the Stalti as they are known in Latvia. The other side is known by members of Skandinieki. The longer a person has remained in the ensemble, the better he or she knows the warmth and positive energy that Helmī and Dainis give to every friend. In the ensemble, new members become part of the group gradually, constantly tested and pushed by the ensemble's leaders. In front of a large audience, Dainis unexpectedly tells a person to lead a song.<sup>14</sup> In an improvised practice session of apdziedāšanās (a "war of songs"), Helmī turns her penetrating wit against a new person in the group, pointing with humor at real character weaknesses or faults; the person must either respond with a stanza of his own, or stand, stammering and ashamed, as the group waits in expectant silence.<sup>15</sup> But it seems that neither Dainis nor Helmī test people in this way unless they believe that the person will successfully answer the challenge.

Helmī Stalte was born in Rīga on August 7, 1949, and grew up in a Livonian family. Among her ancestors is the Livonian poet Karl Stalte (1870-1947), leader of the Livonian national awakening in the 1920's and author of the Livonian national anthem. The Stalts

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<sup>14</sup> During a radio interview in the spring of 1992, for example, Dainis asked me to sing my favorite song.

<sup>15</sup> When Helmī challenged me in this way at a rehearsal in the spring of 1992 and I stood at a loss of words, I was grateful to Marga Stalte for rescuing me by improvising an answer in my defense.

home was one of several places where the Rīga Livonians informally gathered after World War II. In 1972, when the Livonian folklore ensemble, Livlist, was founded, most members of the Rīga community, including the Stalts family, joined. Helmī graduated from the Rīga Pedagogical School in 1970, and earned an additional degree in Choir Leading in 1976, from the J. Mediņš Music Middle School. She founded several children's folklore ensembles while working as a preschool music teacher, and in 1981 she accepted a research position at the Latvian Open-Air Museum of Ethnography, where she continues to work today.

Dainis Stalts was born in Rīga on January 3, 1939. Together with his father, a teacher, Dainis regularly visited the Latvian composer and collector of folksong melodies, Emilis Melngailis (1874-1954), who had fallen into disfavor with the government. Melngailis required that Dainis sing him a new folksong every time he came to visit. He spoke openly about his disgust for the Soviet regime; Dainis recalls many conversations which took place behind closed doors and shrouded windows. Melngailis, like Dainis's father, considered his own ancestors to be the Livonians, and the present-day unlucky fate of this nation was often discussed at their meetings. Like his father, Dainis identifies with the Livonians, despite the fact that his ancestors assimilated into the Latvian nation more than a century ago. This was the reason for his joining Livlist in 1974.

Stalts graduated from the Rīga School of Applied Arts, and enrolled in the Chemistry program at the University of Latvia, but was forced to leave the University after he refused to join the Komsomol (Communist Youth League). He participated in or led several amateur musical groups.<sup>16</sup> He held various jobs before 1981, when he began working as a Researcher at the Latvian Open-Air Museum of Ethnography.

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<sup>16</sup> A pop music trio at the University of Latvia, the men's choir, Absolventi, and a folksong group at the State Bank, where he worked as a part-time teller.

In 1974, Dainis joined the Livonian ensemble, where he met Helmī. They were married the following year, with Dainis taking on Helmī's surname to maintain the family's ties to the Livonian nation. They have three children: Raigo, Julgī, and Dāvis.

They founded a new folklore ensemble on November 11, 1976,<sup>17</sup> dissatisfied with what they saw as a conservative and conformist leadership, and named it Skandinieki to show the group's independence from the accepted singing traditions. Soon afterwards came their petition calling for the national designation "Livonian" to be kept in the new Soviet passports, and the first signs of disfavor from above:

They were surprised that we even dared to [take the petition to the Central Committee of the Communist Party]. It was a rather dissident thing to do. And after that, naturally, we were fired from our jobs, and threatened in every way at home. But the people who persisted, refused to take any other nationality on their passports, not "Latvian" or anything else, they got the designation, "Livonian."<sup>18</sup>

Their involvement in the Latvian national revival also intensified in the late seventies: Skandinieki began touring in the countryside with concerts of Latvian folksongs about war (songs which had kept the patriotic associations that they had in the pre-Soviet time). Hearing that the Latvian Academy of Sciences was discontinuing its large-scale folklore expeditions, the Stalti began intensive fieldwork in the Latvian countryside, publicly criticizing what they considered criminal negligence on the part of the professional folklorists. In the field, along with many new songs, they encountered the traditions which had been erased from the public realm of Soviet folkloristics—folk belief and magical rituals, and began experimenting with the revival of folklore traditions in all forms, as a "way of life." In 1979, they founded the Friends of Folklore Club, an organization which held monthly meetings in Rīga, with

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<sup>17</sup> November 11 is the Latvian Veterans Day Holiday (*Lāčplēšu diena*), banned during the Soviet period.

<sup>18</sup> Tape recorded interview, 25 July 1990.

lectures, concerts, and traditional celebrations that raised interest in folklore among the Latvian intelligentsia.

In 1981, Skandinieki was offered affiliation with the Open-Air Museum, to perform folklore to the growing numbers of tourists. The Stalti were given jobs at the Museum as ethnographic researchers. During the final wave of repression from 1982 to 1984, when the Soviet government attempted to silence all dissidents, the Museum Director (Aivars Ronis) was ordered several times to fire the Stalti, but he refused. Interrogations at the KGB bureau, constant surveillance of their home, harassment by the local municipal government, and anonymous telephone threats continued until the mid-eighties. The Ministry of Culture continued personal attacks against the Stalti until 1989. The decade of torment sharpened two powerful feelings which sustain Dainis and Helmī Stalte today: An unshakable trust in each other and their own clan, which the KGB attempted to break apart, and an unbending resentment and mistrust for all persons who bowed to the pressure of Soviet agencies in situations where the Stalti refused to collaborate. They sang a favorite song during our first meeting in 1990, one which contains magical charms of protection from the skaugis (in folk belief, the "envious one," a person with the evil eye): "The skaugis digs a hole for me by the road— Dig it good and deep, skaugī, sooner or later you'll break your own neck!"<sup>19</sup>

Today, the Stalti continue their battle for the survival of the Latvian and Livonian traditional cultures and worldviews. Independence for Latvia has changed their approach:

"The time has gone when one could beat one's chest and call out, 'I am a Latvian!,' with

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<sup>19</sup> "Skaugim auga apses birze, man aug bērni kumeliņi/ Skaugis manus kumeliņus ik vakara saskaitīja/ Skaiti, skaugī, savus kokus, ne man's bērus kumeliņus/ Kad es braucu pa celiņu, Velns krūmosi brīnījās/ Ko var velnis man darīti, jeb vai manam kumeļam:/ Čūskas vītu grožu braucu, Zalkša pītu pātadzīgu/ Pats es dzimu piektu rītu, kumeļš piektu vakariņu/ Skauga bērni satupuši mana ceļa maliņā/ Atsiraun, jūs skauga bērni, samīs manis kumeliņš!/ Skaugis manim bedri raka mana ceļa maliņā/ Roc, skaugīti, labu dziļu, gan pats kaklu nolauzīsi!"



nothing deeper beneath that. Because you don't know your history, your culture, your folklore treasures, and ethnography," remarks Helmī.<sup>20</sup> They moved into new areas of work under the sponsorship of the Latvian National Independence Movement (LNNK), organizing seminars in the Latvian countryside. Named the "Worldview School" (Dzīvesziņas skola), the seminars take archeologists, ethnographers, folklorists, philosophers, writers, and performers to rural centers for lectures which are voluntarily attended by public school teachers. The aim of the seminars is to raise the spiritual life of their nation:

It's difficult to express in words. It is your stance in the situation where somebody wishes to destroy your nation, and you are able to find, in the heritage of your parents' parents, of your ancestors, the source of strength in order to save yourself and your nation for the future. Well, maybe that came out rather banal, but really, our course throughout this movement has been one uninterrupted fight for survival. And survival in our country and in our nation is only possible if we are for our land, for our language, for our culture. And it is hidden in our dainas, and in our folk beliefs, and everywhere else. This is the great Bible of our nation, the great holy scripture.<sup>21</sup>

The worldview school uses folklore to revive among Latvian teachers something which was destroyed by the Soviet system: A sense of self-esteem, based on a knowledge of local and national heritage. This has been the life's work of Dainis and Helmī Stalte, in Skandinieki and everywhere else. They both gladly argue the reasons why folklore and the cultures of small nations should be preserved. Dainis prefers an open, public battle for survival; Helmī

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<sup>20</sup> Tape recorded interview, 27 July 1990. "Jo pirmkārt ir jāzina, kāpēc tu esi tas latvietis. Ir pagājis tas laiks, kad sita pie krūtīm un sauca: «Es esmu latvietis!» Un zem tā apakšā nekas nav. Jo tu nezini ne savu vēsturi, ne kultūru, ne folkloras bagātības un etnogrāfiju."

<sup>21</sup> Dainis Stalts, tape recorded interview, 27 July 1990. "Pat grūti vārdos tieši tā pateikt. Tas ir tava stāja tajā brīdī, kad tavu tautu grib iznīcināt, un tad tu proti atrast tavu tēvu tēvu, tavu senču mantojumā to spēka avotu, no kura smelties, lai saglabātu sevi un savu tautu nākamībai. Tas varbūt tā, kaut kā man iznāca patētiski, bet tiešām tā mūsu gaitās tajā kustībā ir tas: Ir viens, nepārtraukts cīņiņš par pastāvēšanu. Un pastāvēšana mūsu zemē un mūsu tautā var būt tikai tāda, ja mēs esam par savu zemi, par savu valodu, par savu kultūru. Un tā ir slēpta mūsu dainās un mūsu ticējumos, un visā pārējā. Tā ir tā lielā mūsu tautas bībele, tie lielie svētie raksti."

favors a more intuitive path of discovery and awakening, emphasizing the importance of sound education about folklife and folklore:

You can say that you are full of Latvian spirituality if you sing that folksong and it reveals itself to you in its entirety. But it reveals itself in its entirety and gives strength only if you understand, at least partially, the times when it might have been created, if you can hold your bearings in the language in which it was created, and decipher it at least partially.<sup>22</sup>

### Leaders of the National Movements: Social Characteristics

In his study of nineteenth century European national movements, Miroslav Hroch (1985) demonstrated the value of identifying individual leaders, the "agitators" who carried nationalist ideas to the broad masses. Knowledge of individual biographies —social origins and district or place of origin, social status, territorial distribution and location of patriotic activities, and educational background— identifies the sectors of society which played the greatest role in building national movements. The lives of the four leaders of this chapter should also be placed into the context of Baltic society during the Soviet years.

The social origins of the four leaders are diverse, as appears to be true of many other leaders in the movement. The social class of their parents, if defined by occupation or privileged status in society, follows no pattern: Tõnurist's father, a veteran of the Soviet Army and member of the Communist Party, a "Russian-Estonian"<sup>23</sup> enrolled after the War

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<sup>22</sup> Helmī Stalte, tape recorded interview, 27 July 1990. "Man liekas, ka tas latviskais garīgums ir— Kad tu vari teikt, ka tu esi pilns ar latvisku garīgumu tad, ja tu dziedi to tautas dziesmu un tev viņa atklājas visā pilnībā. Un viņa atklājas visā pilnībā un dod spēku faktiski tikai tad, ja tu kaut daļēji apjēdz tos laikus, kad viņa varētu būt darināta, ja tu mazliet spēj orientēties tajā valodā, kādā viņa ir darināta un atšifrēt viņu kaut daļēji."

<sup>23</sup> See Šilde 1987 for discussion of the "Russian-Latvians," who played a similar role in Latvia.

by the Soviet Union to facilitate the occupation of Estonia, belonged to the ruling class of Soviet citizens. Kelmickaitė's father, a tailor, belonged to the working classes, persons with an average standard of living but no political power. The father of Dainis Stalts was a teacher, and may be classified as a member of the "intelligentsia," while Helmī's father, a former ship captain and (forcibly conscripted) veteran of the Soviet Army, fell into political disfavor after the war and spent a number of years in Soviet prisons. Both of the Stalti have family backgrounds which bring them close to the dispossessed class of Soviet society, the persons repressed by the totalitarian regime. The relations of the four leaders to the Soviet political structure were also diverse: Tōnurist was a member of the Communist Party; Kelmickaitė enrolled in the Komsomol to gain higher education; the Stalti both refused to join even the Komsomol, placing themselves in direct opposition to the socially privileged sectors of society.

The social status of their occupation (all were professional folklore fieldworkers and leaders of singing ensembles) was relatively high in Soviet Baltic society. Folklore and singing are held in esteem as national symbols, and leaders in these areas are generally seen in a positive light. Sociological studies of occupational status which were made during the Soviet era do not specifically mention folklorists, but "scholar" was one of the three most prestigious (albeit not highly paid) occupations in the Baltic, holding respect among the public alongside "physician" and "lawyer" (Dreifelds 1988: 75).

The geographical distribution of the leaders is clear: They all worked in the three Baltic capital cities, centers of national culture and also the centers from which the folklore movement spread outward. Their educational background is above average: Tōnurist and

Kelmickaitė graduated, Dainis Stalts had some higher education before he was expelled from the University of Latvia, and Helmī Stalte completed specialized secondary education.<sup>24</sup>

Other biographical statistics such as age, ethnic identity and gender should also be addressed in a history of the Baltic folklore movement. The birth dates of the four leaders (1939, 1947, 1949, 1951), while spanning twelve years, place them in roughly the same generation. They were born too late to remember the prewar period of independence, but before the death of Stalin. They were young adults during periods of optimism and national revival (the late fifties for Dainis Stalts, the late sixties for the other three) which were followed by repression and political stagnation. Perhaps these experiences left them with a stamp of optimistic, liberated thought together with the resentment which strengthened their opposition to official Soviet cultural norms.

Two components of their ethnic identity are significant: identification with the national culture, and identification with regional culture. Generally, rural ensembles and their individual members tend to identify more with the specific region from which they come and perform songs only from that region. Urban ensembles usually perform songs from many ethnographic districts, and, while some of their members identify with the regional homeland of their ancestors, many others identify with the national territory first, singing songs of many different regions (the sutartinės in Lithuania, collected only in a small district, have become one such item of national culture). The four leaders tend to strongly identify with at least one region of the national territory with which they have no ethnic ties.

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<sup>24</sup> In Latvia in 1979, for example, only 9.5% of the workforce had higher education, and 12.2% had specialized secondary education (*Latvijas PSR Enciklopedija*, Vol 5.2: 122). Leaders of the folklore movement in Latvia in general had above average education: A 1986 survey showed that 23 of 59 leaders of folklore or ethnographic ensembles had higher education, and 21 of the remaining leaders had specialized secondary education. No comparable national statistics about folklore ensemble leaders are available in Estonia or Lithuania.

Zita Kelmickaitė identifies herself as a Žemaitė, and truly has many of the stereotypical character traits of northwestern Lithuania. She fell in love with folklore, however, in the southeastern region of Dzūkija. She usually speaks standard Lithuanian, and calls herself a Lithuanian when speaking to non-Lithuanians. Igor Tõnurist considers himself to be a mixture of many nationalities: his father was an Estonian who was born and grew up in Russia, while his mother was a Belarusian with a Lithuanian surname. The family language was Russian, but he speaks standard Estonian flawlessly. If any regional identity might be ascribed to him, then it would be, first of all, that of an Estonian from the Russian diaspora, and second, the region of northeastern Estonia from where his ancestors moved across the border into Russia. He departs from the ethnicity of his heritage in his love for the songs of Setumaa (southeastern Estonia), which he likes singing in any informal occasion. Helmī and Dainis Stalts consider themselves to be Livonian by descent, but also identify strongly with the Latvian national culture. They do not seem to prefer ties to any ethnographic region of Latvia other than the Livonian coast, and sing Latvian songs from all these regions. At home, the family speaks a mixture of Livonian and standard Latvian.

A third component of ethnic identity, religious belief, complements the portraits of these leaders in the context of their national cultures. In general, Estonians and Latvians have mainly Protestant tradition, while Lithuanians are typically Catholic. Tõnurist's beliefs are characteristic of Estonians in general— he is a member of the congregation and regularly attends services at St. John's Lutheran church in Tallinn. Kelmickaitė, on the other hand, feels more affinity to Protestant Christianity than to the Roman Catholic faith of her parents. Helmī and Dainis Stalts are decisively non-Christian, but also do not belong to the organized Latvian pagan movement, the dievturi. "We believe in the Gods, but we are not dievturi,"

they remark. Their beliefs are more like the traditional, uncanonized belief system of folksongs and folk rituals.

The gender of these four leaders reflects the situation in the three urban centers of the Baltic nations. Leadership of folklore and ethnographic ensembles nationwide belongs primarily to women (many ensemble leaders are teachers, an occupation with a high percentage of women). The groups active in the three capital cities, however, are divided nearly equally among men and women leaders.<sup>25</sup> With an equal share of the urban (and national) leadership going to both sexes, the folklore movement falls between two areas of social life in which it partakes: Political leadership in the Baltic belongs almost exclusively to men, while leadership in songs was more typically a woman's role in the preindustrial traditions revived by the ensembles.

### Gifted Folklore Performers

In the Baltic folksong traditions of the preindustrial era, many people knew the traditions of communal singing well. There were, however, a few gifted leaders of the singing communities who stood out among the people in a village, persons with voices that could lead the entire community, with outstanding memories and enormous repertoires,

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<sup>25</sup> In Lithuania, of the 27 leaders of folklore ensembles listed in the Baltica festival program in 1987, fourteen are women and thirteen are men. Ensembles from Vilnius are led by four men and three women. Other statistics on Lithuanian leaders are not available, with the exception of a 1990 survey of children's ensembles throughout Lithuania, which found only fifteen men among 170 leaders. For Latvia, a brochure listing all known adult ensembles in 1988 (Siguldas Novadpētniecības Muzejs 1988) shows 67 women out of 82 leaders nationwide; in the list of Baltica festival participants in 1991, 53 of 67 leaders are women. In Riga, however, leadership of folklore ensembles was divided equally between five women and four men in 1988, and five women and six men in 1991. In the Estonian Baltica of 1989, 53 of 70 leaders listed in the published program were women, but in Tallinn, there were eleven women and ten men.

known for their skill at remembering or improvising songs fitting any situation in which they might happen to find themselves. They were usually at the center of community life, leading songs at weddings and funerals, as well as during everyday work. Gifted singers frequently came from destitute families and had little formal education; literacy, however, was common, and a thirst for knowledge about the world was characteristic. They understood and described folk traditions to fieldworkers more perceptively than the average member of their community; they were also more open in expressing their emotions, and had a more lively imagination than their peers. Singing caused them to reexperience the events they associated with a given song, even in the context of a formal interview recorded by a folklorist. The scope of their repertoires, and the kinds of songs which they knew, varied greatly from individual to individual (Laugaste 1986: 134-144, D. Sauka 1986: 260-270, L. Sauka 1983: 82-108, 118-119).

Formal education and social origins clearly distinguish the leaders of the urban folklore revival from the lead singers of traditional communities: None of the four leaders in this chapter comes from the impoverished, rural background which is typical for so many traditional folksong bearers. Education opened up the world of the national community in which Kelmickaitė, Tõnurist and the Stalti became leaders of folksong revival. The self-analysis of urban performers concerning matters of performance style was formerly not typical of folksong singers. Although the urban leaders may sometimes become emotionally caught up in certain songs during performance, they, unlike rural singers of the past, always seem able to distance themselves and perform the same songs without reexperiencing the emotions associated with them (for example, in group rehearsals).

At first glance, the differences between the highly educated leaders of the urban folklore revival and the lead singers of peasant communities seem enormous. There are,

however, also some similarities. The general attitude of traditional singers to their songs, as described by Leonardas Sauka, applies equally well to the leaders of the folklore movement:

Folklore occupied an important place in their lives. Songs beautified and enriched their existence, helped overcome misfortune, raised their self-esteem, affirmed happiness in human communication. They lived with songs; without songs, it was impossible to either work or rest [L. Sauka 1983: 119].

Like their rural counterparts, the urban leaders are at the center of community activities, and are very knowledgeable about the traditions they perform. Leadership in either case would not be possible without the gifts that all gifted folksong singers share, talents that are required of every folklore performer: memory and creativity.

Exceptional memory, and the ability to perform lengthy songs with little effort, is characteristic of all four individuals studied here. Their memory includes the capacity to improvise through oral-formulaic methods (Lord 1960) as well as the precise, verbatim memory required for detailed scholarly analysis of folklore variants. At the rehearsals of Ratilio, for example, as well as in her lectures at the Lithuanian Conservatory, Kelmickaitė easily recalls and reproduces, not only separate songs, but also several variants of a given type, noting the sources of each variant. She skillfully demonstrates the performance styles and melodic variants of various regions and singers (she also mimics poor imitators from other ensembles). The individual memory of the ensemble leaders is usually supplemented by libraries and archives. In his apartment, Tõnurist keeps a large cabinet full of files arranged by subject matter and performance contexts, and each file is overflowing with song texts that he has copied from the folklore archives at the Kreutzwald Museum of Estonian Literature in Tartu, together with transcripts from his own fieldwork. Helmī and Dainis Stalts have, along with a formidable library of published collections, an archive of texts, tapes, and videotapes which they have recorded during fieldwork expeditions. These supplemental "memories" are



consulted often. Kelmickaitė regularly listens to field recordings at the archives of the Lithuanian Conservatory. Tõnurist peruses his files in preparation for each monthly concert of Leegajus. The Stalti frequently turn to their library and field recordings in preparation for performances.

Stage performances by folklore ensembles usually require precise reproduction, to the smallest detail, of texts recorded in the field. The goal of these concerts is to demonstrate as closely as possible the musical traditions which were once common in the Baltic countryside; folklorists and ethnomusicologists who are not part of the movement usually agree that the groups led by Kelmickaitė, Tõnurist, and the Stalti come very close to meeting this goal. Unlike village singers, folklore ensemble leaders are always consciously expanding their repertoire with new songs, melodies, and regional singing styles. This rapid learning of new material is impossible without knowledge —conscious or unconscious— of the unwritten traditional rules of poetic composition and performance. The four leaders have mastered these rules, opening the possibility of owning an unlimited repertoire of songs.<sup>26</sup>

The present-day leaders of urban folklore ensembles and the lead singers of peasant communities differ in the size and scope of repertoire. Even the greatest singers studied by Baltic folklorists in the past rarely, if ever, knew songs from different regional traditions, as do today's leaders. The repertoires of the traditional leaders were probably smaller, too. Kelmickaitė, Tõnurist, and the Stalti have enormous active repertoires of songs and melodies which they can recall at a moment's notice; their passive repertoire includes every published collection of folksongs and the holdings of their national archives, as well. These are the sources from which they constantly take songs and learn or relearn them for performance.

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<sup>26</sup> Time did not allow a study of their extremely large individual repertoires. Throughout my stay in the Baltic, I rarely saw them sing the same song twice.

Singers in traditional communities learned their songs from older members of the family, or from gifted performers in the community, while visitors from neighboring communities provided a less frequent, but always possible source of songs. Among the first songs learned by the four ensemble leaders are songs sung by older relatives. Helmī Stalte, for example, enjoys singing sailors' songs which she learned from her father, Igor Tõnurist recorded songs from his grandmother which he still uses in folklore performances today, and Zita Kelmickaitė loves the many songs of the Žemaitija district which she learned in her childhood from her father and mother. Like the peasant singers of past generations, the four leaders gained their most important inspiration and knowledge of folksongs, not from academic sources, but through frequent contact with continuing song traditions and living singers. They had mobility and could span the ethnographic regions of their nations' traditional culture. They could also visit the cultural islands beyond the borders of their republics and personally meet the best singers from a large number of communities. Memory of the songs they heard and learned during fieldwork is assisted by sound recordings, but there can be no doubt that the main source of their songs can be found in the same oral traditions which produced the "queens" and "kings" of folksongs who have been admired by Baltic folklorists for more than a century.

Exceptional memory extends beyond folklore texts. The four leaders remember the names and life histories of many singers they have met during fieldwork, and they easily recognize faces in the crowds of people whom they meet at performances. Familiarity with the audience around them is necessary for choosing and creating the most appropriate song for each situation.

The four leaders of the folklore ensembles possess many of the same skills as the gifted folklore performers of the past, and have surpassed their rural teachers in numbers of

songs and styles that they have learned. Without the gifts of traditional artists, the leaders could not inspire the members of their groups to learn so many songs and styles. The differences between the new and old gifted performers of folklore lie in the intent of singing. The ensemble leaders have larger repertoires because it was their goal to know as many songs and melodies as possible; they sing, not only for aesthetic pleasure or communication within the community, but rather, in order to contribute to the national culture of the Estonians, Livonians, Latvians, or Lithuanians. The ensemble leaders practice folklorism, while the earlier singers did not.

#### Individual Awakenings: The Foundation of National Movements

Margaretha Balle-Petersen (1988) discusses the role of individuals in the Danish national movement of the past century, and identifies moments of "sudden clarity" regarding "a new order of life" which those individuals experienced at fateful turning points in their career. A speech by a national leader, for example, inspired a young man to become an active participant in the advancement of Danish national culture. The moments of "awakening" are more the result of chance than of a logical sequence of events. These flashes of inspiration are at the foundations of all social movements. Without them, individuals, and the leaders in particular, would not decide to devote their lives to a movement.

Such moments of revelation appear in the life stories of the four leaders who appear in this chapter, and in the life stories of many other leaders and participants in the movement. According to them, it is fate, and not a logical sequence of events and ideas, which placed them in the position of leadership in the folklore movement:

*Guntis:* Tell a little about yourself. Why do you work with songs?  
*Zita Kelmickaitė:* I don't know. I think that it is a kind of, well, a calling.<sup>27</sup>

*Guntis:* Why did you begin to sing?  
*Igor Tõnurist:* Well, it seems that many things in a person follow a determined course.<sup>28</sup>

*Guntis:* And how is it that you are now Livonian activists?  
*Dainis Stalts:* We have always been like that.  
*Helmī Stalte:* We have been.  
*Dainis Stalts:* It is probably fate.<sup>29</sup>

Fateful revelations, moments of intense experience difficult to grasp with logic or rational thought, lead each of them to the choice of becoming a leader in the revival of folk traditions. Helmī Stalte, and several other members of *Skandinieki*, know that magical incantations work, and rediscover proof of the value of folklore with every new occasion of traditional ritual. Dainis Stalts recalls a moment of revelation experienced during a folklore collecting expedition early in his life, about which he told me several times over the three years of our acquaintance:

That was a beautiful story, and I wish an experience like this one to you as a folklorist, also:

I wasn't married yet then, and we were walking across hills and valleys there. And I see— an abandoned house. I go up to it, and everything has been taken away, there are cobwebs. And in the middle of the big room, a cradle standing on a table. And a ray of sunlight coming through the roof, directly into that cradle.

I understood it that my own people should lie in that cradle. It must be continued. The clan. I never did find out who the people were who once lived there, nor their names. But that ray of sunlight in that cradle was like a

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<sup>27</sup> Tape recorded interview, 10 October 1991. (*Guntis*): "Galbūt dabar pasakyk truputį apie save. Kodėl tu dirbi su dainomis?" (*Zita*): "Aš nežinau. Žodžiu, aš taip pagalvojau, kad tai yra toks savotiškas, nu, tiesiog pašaukimas."

<sup>28</sup> Tape recorded interview, 25 March 1992. (*Guntis*): "Ja siis miks sina hakkasid laulma?" (*Igor*): "Ei, seda ei— Noh, ilmselt kõik on väga seaduspärane inimeses."

<sup>29</sup> Tape recorded interview, 25 July 1990. (*Guntis*): "Un kā tas iznāk, ka tagad jūs tieši esat tie aktīvisti, tie lībieši?" (*Dainis*): "Mēs vienmēr tādi esam bijuši." (*Helmī*): "Mēs jau esam bijuši—" (*Dainis*): "Tas ir laikam likteņa lēmums." (*Helmī*): "—Jā, jau tais gados, kad trīcēja visi."

code to me, and I carried it fourteen kilometers, the cradle, although I was loaded down with all kinds of things from head to foot, but I understood that this cradle, I must carry home. And I kept it for many years, and then the time came when one after the other our little ones, and then after that, many relatives and friends— everybody rocked their children in that cradle. Not only rocked, but also laid them in there to sleep.<sup>30</sup>

Other extraordinary encounters with folk tradition appear throughout his narratives:

A healer unexpectedly stills his torturous back pain; an old woman he knows sees her grandmother in a dream, and learns the description of an ancient ritual dance;<sup>31</sup> in the early morning hours after a long and tiring interview, Helmi's godmother suddenly recalls a song related to the mythology of the Livonians.<sup>32</sup> All of these episodes taken together have significance in Dainis Stalts's life, signs and codes uncovering long-lost wisdom of past generations.

The supernatural dimension is absent in stories about extraordinary encounters with folk tradition as told by Zita Kelmickaitė and Igor Tõnurist; nor do they emphasize the political significance of folklore revival as strongly as the Stalti. Their life stories, however, also include powerful experiences which changed the course of their lives. Kelmickaitė was

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<sup>30</sup> Tape recorded interview, 27 July 1990. Stalts retold the story during the tape recorded interview on 14 July 1991. There is a possible reference to the same story in another interview published in 1988; see Danosa 1988: 16.

"Tas ar' bija skaists stāsts, es tā iedomājos, es tev kā folkloristam kaut ko tādu es novēlu piedzīvot. Tad es vēl nebiju precējies, un gājām pa kalniem un pa lejām tur. Un redz— pamestas mājas. Pieeju klāt, un tur viss ir tāds aizvākts prom, zirnekļu tīmekļi— Un lielās istabas vidū stāv šūpulis uz tāda galda. Un saules stars caur caurumu jumtā krīt taj šūpulī iekšā. Es tā sapratu, ka tur būs jāguļ manējiem. Jāturpina. Tās dzimtas gaita. Es neko tā arī nedabūju zināt, kas tur par ļaudīm ir dzīvojuši, nedz kā viņus saukuši. Bet tas saules stars tajā šūpulī, tas bija man tā kā tāds kods, un es tad viņu nesu kādus četrpadsmit kilometrus, to šūpuli, kaut es biju nokrāmējies ar mantām no galvas līdz kājām, bet sapratu, ka tas šūpulis, tas man jāatnes. Un tad es viņu ilgu gadu glabāju, un tad pienāca tā reize, kad viens pakaļ otram mūsu mazie, un pēc tam daudz radnieki un draugi— Visi tajā šūpulī izšūpoja savus. Ne tikai šūpoja, bet arī guldīja."

<sup>31</sup> A dance song imitating the movements of birds ("Dai cytas meitas priļus auž"), described by Anna Urbaste, an 85 year old employee of the Open Air Museum.

<sup>32</sup> "Mustapää, kirjapää," the song of the Sea Mother calling to her blue cows of the sea, sung by Julgi Stalte during a tape recorded interview, 25 July 1990.

impressed for life by the singing prowess of the village women she met in southeastern Lithuania during her first fieldwork expedition, and was at the same time also instilled with a wish to acquire an ethnomusicology instructor's skill in eliciting and analyzing songs.

And the very first expedition, when I had just finished my first year at the Conservatory, was fateful. Because I went to Dzūkija. We went on an expedition to Kriokšlio village, Varėna District. [...] I was met by such musical women in that village who, for example, could sing seventy songs in one day, easily, sitting down. And I was stunned by that. Because for them, the songs came one after the other. But not just the knowledge, the skill of singing, but the desire. Desire, and pride. They understood that they had something of value. And one after the other, they remembered them and sang.

But I— Well, it was my first expedition. And on the very first day Danutė Krištopaitė came with me, a philologist, who took us, the first year students, to show us how to work with folklore informants. And she worked with us for one day.... And I watched, and I said to myself, "I also have to learn that many variants and that many types, so that I would be able to prompt the singers as well as Krištopaitė." Because she knew that poetic world very well.

And on the next day we were let out on our own. And after three days—I worked in one of those villages, it was unusually wealthy—the women even began to sing laments for me. And they all said that I have the great gift of God, the gift of talking, of persuading them. And one of them said, "You could work for the KGB. Because," she said, "nobody has ever interrogated me as you did!" And we laughed, the entire village— It left a great impression on me, when after a week we left the village, a bus came to pick us up. All of the village women gathered to see me off. They brought honey, and they brought cranberries. And all of them together gave it to me.

And everybody said, "Well, just listen, look at her!" Because I was dressed completely differently then, it was a very short dress, very long hair. You know, a first-year student [laughs]. And Amžinatėlis, now a historian, said to me, "I foresee a great future for you. Because you have the great gift, the ability to talk to people." And he said, "You're a born fieldworker, because," he says, "there are others who learn over time, but," he says, "you learned everything at once." And after that, everything was clear to me.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Tape recorded interview, 10 October 1991. The same story was also recorded by Krikščiūnas 1984: 41-42. "Pati pirmoji ekspedicija, kuri buvo kad tik pirmame kurse, kad aš baigiau, buvo lemtinga. Nes aš nuvažiavau į Dzūkiją, mes važiavom į kompleksinę folkloro ekspediciją Dzūkijoje, į Kriokšlio kaimą, Varėnos rajoną. Ir man kaip žemaitė tai buvo tiesiog, nu, toks, aš sakyčiau, tiesiog emocinis stresas didelis, todėl, kad žmonės ir poetinis pasaulis yra visai kitoks negu Žemaitijoje. Manę pasitiko tokios dainingos moterys tame kaime, kurios, pavyzdžiui, per dieną nesunkiai, atsisėdusios, padainuodavo 70 dainų. Ir manę tas pribloškė. Nes jom dainaėjo viena po kitos. Bet ne tik tas žinojimas, mokėjimas dainuoti, bet noras. Noras, ir toks pasididžiavimas. Jos suvokė, kad tai yra

Tõnurist often mentions his first meeting with some Lithuanian women who sang at student gatherings at Moscow University in the late sixties, and from whom he gained the wish to sing Estonian songs.

And for me personally, the contact came through the Lithuanian folklore movement, in Moscow at the end of the sixties. Because the movement began earlier in Lithuania. And then I saw how people were trying to make the old folksongs a part of their life, and themselves were singing with true enjoyment, and then I began to go to the Lithuanian festivals, and then I began to think, "Why couldn't we start doing the same thing." [...]

I went on their expeditions, to Belarus, to the Lithuanian language islands. Gervėčiai. Collecting. And I also went to Lithuania at other times, yes, I also visited Povilas Mataitis and his ensemble. I had ties to the folklore— or a kind of national movement, a club, Ramuva, I was there because I had contacts with these people, even though I didn't agree with their political opinions. They just weren't for me. But, well, regarding folklore we got along well, and I even went there once on Midsummer Night, to the Kernavė hill-fort, and sang with two Lithuanian women. Those old Lithuanian Midsummer songs, and everybody was surprised, "What kind of person is this, he sings Lithuanian songs so old that even the Lithuanians don't know them, but he himself speaks only Russian [laughs]. I think I already told you about that once."<sup>34</sup>

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vertybė. Ir jos viena per kitą prisimindamos—

O aš— Žodžiu, mano tai buvo pirmoji ekspedicija. Ir pačia pirmą dieną su manim nuėjo Danutė Krištopaitė, filologė, kuri mus, pirmo kurso studentes, vedė parodyti, kaip reikia dirbti su pateikėjais. Ir ji dirbo vieną dieną su mumis. Faktiškai, ji klausinėjo tū pateikėjų, o mes klausėm ir rašėm. Ir aš pažiūrėjau, ir aš sau pasakiau: "Aš turiu irgi išmokti tiek variantų, ir tiek tipų, kad aš galėčiau užminti tam dainininkėm taip, kaip ta Krištopaitė. Nes ji labai gerai žinojo tą poezijos pasaulį, poetinį pasaulį.

Ir sekančią dieną mus paleido vienas. Ir po trijų dienų— Aš dirbau viename tame kaime, nes tai buvo nepaprastai turtinga— Man moterys pradėjo ir raudoti. Ir visos sakė, kad aš turiu tiesiog didžiausią Dievo dovaną kalbėti, prakalbinti jas. Ir viena pasakė: «Tu galėtum dirbti Kei dži bi. Nes», sakė, «manęs niekas gyvenime šitaip netardė taip, kaip tu manę tardai». Ir mes juokėmes, ir visas kaimas— Man buvo toks didžiausias išpūdis, kad, kada jau mes po savaitės išvažiuom iš to kaimo, atvažiavo mūs paimti autobusas. Visos kaimo moterys susirinko manęs palydėti. Jos atnešė medaus, atnešė spangolių. Ir visos susirinkusios, žodžiu, man tai davė.

Ir visi taip sako, «Nu, klausyk, kokias—» Žodžiu, aš, aišku, visai kitaip— tai buvo labai trumpa suknelė, labai ilgi plaukiai. Žinai, tokia pirmo kurso studentė. [laughs] Ir Amžinatelis, dabar vienas istorikas, man sako: «Aš tau spėju didelį ateitį. Nes tu turi didelę Dievo dovaną kalbėti su žmonėm». Ir sakė: «Tu gimusi esi kraštotyrininkė. Nes», sako, «yra kiti— gali išmokti per laiką, o», sako, «tu viską išmokėi iš karto». Ir po to man kažkaip buvo viskas aišku."

<sup>34</sup> Tape recorded interview, 27 February 1992. The encounter with the Lithuanian students who sang in Moscow is also mentioned by Ottin 1973: 10, and by Vaike Sarv 1980. "Ja noh, mulle endale isiklikult tuli muidugi see kontakt nūūd leedu folklooriliikumisega just, Moskvās, 60.te aastate lõpus, sest Leedus algas see liikumine varem, ja siis ma nägin, et, kuidas need inimesed siiski suudavad ka

The four leaders of the leading folklore ensembles were all transformed into active bearers of folklore traditions, by individual moments of revelation during encounters with living folklore traditions. Their goals have not changed during their careers. They wish to continue singing, and to create the groups which are necessary for the most effective folksong performances. Enhanced by the charisma of these leaders, individual experience passes from person to person, and the groups grow and multiply into a broad movement.

### Conclusion

This chapter describes a component of the Baltic folklore movements, and by extension the recent Baltic national movements, which has for the most part been overlooked in the studies of folklorism and nationalism which were surveyed in the introduction to this dissertation. Following Bausinger's instructions to seek out the practitioners of folklorism (1969: 6), I quickly discovered the individuals whose voices stand out and stood out at folklore performances in the Baltic for the past two decades.

I found that I could best explain why the movement grew only if I attempted to describe the activities and personal charisma of these leaders. They are gifted performers of folklore, able to command the attention of many different audiences, large and small. They

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see, elada sellega, vanale rahvalaulule, ja ise laulavad seda rõõmuga, ja teevad, ja siis ma käisin ka seal leedulaste pidudel, ja siis ka hakkasin mõtlema, et miks ei võiks meie hakata nii tegema. [...]

Jah, ma käisin 1971, ma käisin nende folkloristidega ekspeditsioonil, Valgevenes, seal leedu keele saarel. Gervėčiai. Kogumas. Ja ma käisin seal vahepeal ka, nii et siis— saingi Mataitise juures käidud, jah. Noh, seal oli mul sidemed omaaegse folkloori või niisugune rahvuslik liikumine, või klubi, nagu «Ramuva», oli seal, sest nende inimestega oli mul kontakte, kuid ma mitmeid nende poliitilisi vaate üldse ei jaganud. Mulle see ei sobinud lihtsalt. Aga noh, folkloori alal me saime hästi läbi, ja ma isegi seal kahe leedu naisega laulsin ükskord seal nende Jaanipäeval, Kernave linnamäel. Need vanu leedu Jaanilaule, ja kõik inimestasid, et— mis inimene see on, et laulab nii vanu leedulaule, et leedulased ise ei tunne, aga räägib vene keeles. [laughter] Vist ma rääkisin sulle sellest.



are gifted also with the ability to awaken similar gifts in others. What or who moved these people themselves to become leaders? While the background factors typically studied by historians of nationalism (social origins, generational factors, and education, for example) surely contributed to the identities and actions of these leaders, these quantifiable factors recede back into the background when one encounters the intense personal experiences which the leaders themselves consider to be turning points in their lives.

Without these four individuals, the three leading folklore ensembles in the Baltic would not have found such resonance, both within the groups they led and among the masses of the three nations. Without individuals such as these four persons, the recent history of the Baltic nations is incomplete.

## CONCLUSION: BALTIC FOLKSONGS AND THE LIBERATED MIND

In 1987, a new book was published by Vizma Belševica, a poet known during the Soviet period for her courage to say what others didn't dare think.<sup>1</sup> A poem in the book described a series of "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not" in Latvian history, concluding with Midsummer Night's celebrations at which people are drowning in bitter fear and bitter liquor, and the declaration, "Thou shalt not." The poem continues, however:

But in the darkened fields, *Skandinieki* walk,  
But in the midnight meadows, in the yellowish dew of the stars,  
The pure breaths sing — Look, they sing without liquor,  
Without beer they sing....

The land rises in waves, like *Skandinieki* singing,  
And in the starry dew remains the trail of song.  
Across the dark black fields — a tiny path.

[Belševica 1987: 30]

In late 1986, when the poem was going to press, nobody could foresee the Singing Revolution, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the liberty which seems so inevitable in hindsight.<sup>2</sup> A tiny strand of hope and breath of freedom was carried by Skandinieki and their

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<sup>1</sup> Ekmanis 1977: 325-329.

<sup>2</sup> The 1986 public battle against the Daugavpils Hydroelectric Station, for example, did not achieve practical results until 1987 (Muižnieks 1987). The supremacy of the Soviet police state over its population was publicly demonstrated in April of 1987, with the murder of Belševica's son, Klāvs Elsbergs, editor of a new, youthful literary magazine for free thought. All investigations of his death were suppressed in the Soviet courts, a clear sign that the murder had been directed by the KGB (Lešinska 1987, Rauda 1987, Belševica 1992: 230-235).

folksongs. A year and a half later, in 1988, Skandinieki walked at the head of the Baltica Folklore Festival procession carrying the banned flag of independent Latvia. Alongside them, carrying the national flags of Estonia and Lithuania, walked Leegaijs and Ratilio. In the wake of the folklore ensembles there erupted a massive festival of folksongs and folkdance, a watershed which came to be called the Singing Revolution.

Folklorism in the Baltic today is a national tradition. The conscious use of folklore, and of folksongs in particular, as a symbol of national identity is a practice long familiar to the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, whose cultures have produced many elaborate variants in the folklorism tradition— in literature, graphic arts, and musical performances. Definitions of folklorism such as "secondary tradition" or "a historically developing process of adaptation, reproduction and transformation of folklore" have not shown that folklorism is a tradition in itself, one which grew from the roots of the nineteenth century European romanticism and continues to flourish today.

The study of folklorism must begin, not with the culture industry or with government-sponsored cultural programs, but with the folklorism of Johann Gottfried Herder. It was Herder who established the tradition of using folklore, and folksongs in particular, as a national symbol. Herder gave folksongs their name, and transformed them into symbols of nations, into poetry which affirmed the worth of many national voices among the humans of the world, and into weapons for protesting the subjugation of one nation to another. Herder's collection of songs was popularized by the nineteenth-century culture industry, in the many new editions of the Stimmen der Völker in Liedern which were embraced by the German-reading public eager to accept symbols for emerging European nations. Once the modern meanings for folksongs —and the tradition of folklorism, as well— had been established, the folk poetry itself no longer needed to be as explicit as Herder's unambiguous attack on

German tyranny in "Lament about the Tyrants of the Serfs." In the repertoire of nineteenth-century choirs, folksongs about love or nature, orphans or mother— all retained the cultural and political symbolism created by the Volkslieder.

Folksongs entered state cultural programs after the nineteenth century movement of singing societies had overtaken Europe. Governments could partly harness the singers and censor concerts, or commission specific songs from the performers and artists, but they did not transform the basic model: To revive national tradition, one must go to the folk, discover unique forms of art, and place that art on national display. In recent decades, Soviet government propaganda and official folklorism distant from earlier folk traditions provoked a reaction in the three Baltic national communities. A new movement emerged, retrieving and developing models of folklorism from the nineteenth century. The history of the unofficial Baltic folklore movement is a history of singers in the three national cultures —university youth, urban intellectuals, dissidents— breaking the bounds of officially-sponsored Soviet culture, reasserting their cultural independence. Two forms of folklorism clashed. Both may be defined as "the conscious use of folklore as a national symbol," but they differed greatly in form and content.

In the officially sanctioned national cultures of the USSR, folklore ("folk art," "folk creativity") was recruited in the service of Soviet propaganda. Officially defined as a constantly developing and adapting form of art, folklore was constantly developed and adapted to the ideology of the state. Positioned in an evolutionary scheme of cultural development, contemporary folklore was placed exclusively in the hands of highly trained specialists, leaving most people in the role of passive audiences. The new, unofficial movement of Baltic folklorism began during student ethnographic expeditions to the Lithuanian countryside, in a return to the traditional wellsprings of folklore research. From the memories of the rural

folk, students in the sixties reconstructed folklore performances unlike those of the official culture, and accepted the "more sincere," more direct village singing traditions as their own. The movement soon emerged also in Estonia and Latvia. The confrontation sharpened between official folklorism, which continued to stress the importance of highly trained performers of stylized traditions, and the unofficial folklorism, which demonstrated that any person could perform folklore.

Folksongs found part of their public appeal in the national symbolism which they had acquired through more than a century of nation-building. To the Soviet Baltic population, songs and singing in many contexts offered an easily recognizable expression of national identity, at a time when attempts to Russify the region intensified. Even more important political symbolism appeared in the new folklorism with the exclusion of the officially propagated songs of Soviet patriotism. In the concerts of the folklore ensembles, the very absence of songs about Lenin, socialist friendship, and the Communist Party was a political statement: It was a declaration of independence from Soviet culture.

The strength of the folklore ensembles lay in the nature of their singing traditions. Members of the groups returned to the folk —both in the field and in the archives— and consciously revived previously unnoticed characteristics of folklore: The capability of folklore to adapt to new, less formal contexts; the lowered barriers between performers and audiences; the significance of gifted lead singers interacting with singing communities. Singer after singer told me that an established means of state control over Soviet citizens was broken when they learned that anybody could become an active bearer of group traditions. Persons who had been taught to believe that they could not sing learned that they could, indeed, not only sing in the traditional style, but also lead others in song. "Talentless" musicians discovered that they could play the traditional instruments well. The exhilarating feeling of

creating art gave people a sense of self-esteem and self-reliance, characteristics which were not celebrated in Soviet society. Singing in the loud voice of peasant tradition laid bare one's inner feelings, cleansing the members of folklore ensembles of the hypocrisy which all Soviet citizens encountered daily.

Individuals were liberated from the repressed, stifling world of Soviet society, and the folklore ensembles which brought them together became an instrument of even broader freedom. Constant attempts by the political police to infiltrate and demoralize the leading folklore ensembles only strengthened the bonds between persons who eventually found that they could trust each other. Similar half-secret groups based on trust had existed elsewhere in Soviet society. Families, for example, did not betray their own kin; dissidents met in prison camps; writers, artists and intellectuals clustered in informal circles of friends. The folklore ensembles brought such small cells of shared truth and trust out into the open, publicly demonstrating an alternative and better way of life. Here were individuals who were free of the complexes which made most Soviet citizens fear standing out in a crowd, here were persons not afraid of proclaiming pride in native traditions. Here were groups which did not fear the open display of emotions, happiness, and singing, groups which were accessible to any member of the public who dared step out of the audience and into the singing community. The groups grew, and the folklore movement spread, because the traditional singing style offered to any person who joined a folklore ensemble, not only a chance to express national pride, but also artistic creativity and openness in personal relations.

Folksongs and unofficial folklorism in the Baltic freed the "captive minds" of a totalitarian state, described well by Czesław Miłosz four decades ago. As was true throughout the Soviet bloc, feelings of alienation, resentment against the hypocritical optimism of government propaganda, and a spiritual vacuum surrounding the state-propagated

materialist ideology caused Baltic (and other Soviet) intellectuals to embrace, for example, Eastern religions and philosophies, jazz and rock music, poetry and literature, or a "return to nature" and the hippie movement. All of these were means of escape, conscious or half-conscious, from the falsity of public culture. These pursuits offered ways of attaining aesthetic satisfaction and a tacit feeling of superiority without open confrontation with the central power structures, "spiritual Ketman," as it was termed by Miłosz (1990 [1951]: 64-69). To these countercultures may be added the national song festivals, spectacular concerts framed in the red flags of Soviet patriotism which were simultaneously a mass escape into secret, "unofficial" meanings. When the secret paths of escape, including the unofficial anthems sung by Baltic choirs, no longer served the desired ends of the government, they could be stifled (Miłosz 1990: 189-190). In the summer of 1985, for example, the unofficial meanings of the Latvian national song festival were overridden by the officially imposed celebration of the Soviet military forces.

The folklore revival movement which began in the late sixties left its mark on the Baltic, not as a form of escapism, but rather, as a movement which openly confronted the foundations of Soviet culture, giving its members the spiritual independence that eventually made exceptional political change possible. At the folklore festivals and public concerts, and among the leaders and members of folklore ensembles, I met the persons who had sparked and led this emancipating movement. In the summer of 1990, during my first fieldwork encounter with the folklore movement, a Latvian singer explained history to me:

Our people have been frightened into submission, terribly frightened, to the extent that they are afraid even to talk to other people.... I'm talking to you, I don't have any complexes, I can talk to you, right? Skandinieki are all like that.... But the average Latvian cannot do that.... It is probably the time of Stalin which has left these marks, when people couldn't talk to others, because there could be terrible consequences.... Folklore took all of that away. And this is why folklore is needed at the political events, because it accomplishes a feeling of liberation. A choir stands stiffly, the conductor in

front, and they're all like that. But it is not like that in folklore.... It is the folksong which accomplishes this.<sup>3</sup>

The Baltic Singing Revolution grew out of the many-faceted tradition of song symbolism which has been developing since the days of Johann Gottfried Herder. Its success in mobilizing hundreds of thousands of singing participants from average members of the public owes much to the folklore movement, which for more than two decades forcefully reminded the Baltic public that folksongs belong, not on stage or in official Soviet festivals, but on the lips of every free Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian. The three nations of singers rediscovered themselves in folksongs, as they once had discovered themselves in Herder's Volkslieder, in epic poetry based on folklore, and in choral performances. In the Singing Revolution of the late eighties, songs were the natural choice of national symbolism, a proven weapon in the struggle for independence from foreign domination.

Folklore is a symbol of identity, a means of celebrating national pride, but also a vehicle of friendship across national boundaries. The four ensemble leaders all recounted friendly meetings, for example, with Russian folklore ensembles in Leningrad and Moscow,<sup>4</sup> and in 1992, Russian folklore ensembles found supportive audiences in Rīga and Vilnius, as

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<sup>3</sup> Tape recorded interview with Ilga Reizniece, a former member of Skandinieki who is today a well-known folksong performer, July 6, 1990: "Galvenais ir tas, ka cilvēki mūsējie ir... iebaidīti tik ļoti, ka viņi pat baidās runāt ar citiem cilvēkiem. Nav savstarpējas tādas mīlestības. Es ar tevi tagad—man nav nekādi kompleksi, es ar tevi varu runāties, jā? "Skandinieki" visi tādi ir.... Bet normālais latvietis to nevar. Viņam ir kompleksi šausmīgi.... Tas laikam Staļina laiks to visu, atstājis pēdas—kad vispār nedrīkstēja runāt ar otru cilvēku, varēja būt milzīgas sekas.... Folklorā to visu noņēma nost. Un tāpēc arī folklorā ir vajadzīga politiskos pasākumos, jo viņa tādu ārkārtīgu atbrīvotības sajūtu panāk. Koriem tomēr—Koris- Visi stīvi, diriģents priekšā, un viņi tādi visi ir. Bet folklorā tā nav. Folklorā uzreiz, momentā atrod kontaktu ar cilvēkiem.... Tā ir tautas dziesma, protams, kas to padara."

<sup>4</sup> For example, the Stalti and Kelmickaitē spoke warmly of Anatolii Mikhailovich Mekhnetsov and his Russian folklore ensemble at the Conservatory in St. Petersburg. Leegajus travelled to Moscow for a concert in January of 1992, as it had done many times during the past decades. See also Chapter 5, footnote 12.



well.<sup>5</sup> This international respect and friendship is an integral part of the national traditions established by Herder:

Must one fatherland necessarily rise up against another...? Has not the earth room for us all? Does not one land lie quietly next to the other? Cabinets may cheat one another, and political machines may be moved against one another until one shatters the other. Not so do fatherlands move one against another; they lie quietly side by side and, like families, assist each other. Fatherlands against fatherlands in bloody battle is the worst barbarism of the human language [SW, XVII: 319; emphasis in original].<sup>6</sup>

In the Baltic folklore movement, the Herderian tradition of folklorism, now more than two centuries old, was embraced in yet another modern variant. Folksongs, potent weapons in the nonviolent struggle for the survival of the three Baltic national cultures, proved once again their worth to humanity. "Life's greatest moments are so simple," wrote Ivar Ivask. "A people singing" (1990: 21).

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<sup>5</sup> The Cossack folklore ensemble, Kazachii krug, performed to a full auditorium in Vilnius in November of 1991; a Russian children's ensemble from a Riga Russian high school (leader Sergei Olënkin) performed at the Pulkā eimu, pulkā tekū folklore festival in Riga, in May of 1992.

<sup>6</sup> Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität (1795). English translation from Ergang 1966: 263-264.

APPENDIX I:  
SONGS AT THE NATIONAL SONG FESTIVALS OF 1990

Apdziedāšanās — "War of Songs" (Latvian)

This series of stanzas was sung, and at least partially improvised, by Gita Barkovska accompanied by the choir, Līvi (representing Kurzeme, or Western Latvia), and Anita Garanča and Daila Krastiņa, accompanied by the choir, Sigulda (representing Vidzeme, or Northern Latvia).

**Kurzeme (K):**

Es varēju Rīgas kungus  
Pa vienami apdziedāt:  
Vienam bija šķības kājas,  
Otram lika muguriņ'.

I can take the lords of Rīga  
And ridicule them in song, one by one;  
One has crooked legs,  
Another has a crooked back!

**Vidzeme (V):**

Nav ne nieka, nav ne nieka  
No šitiemi ļautiņiem:  
[Unclear]

Nothing, nothing  
Will come of these people:  
[two lines unclear]

Ko dziedāja kurzemnieki,  
Ka dziesmiņu nemācēja?  
Visas jūsu skaistas dziesmas  
Grāmatās sarakstīt's!

What are the people from Kurzeme singing,  
They don't know any songs!  
All of your pretty songs  
Are written in books!

K: Vai Dieviņi, vai Dieviņi,  
Ko mēs ļaudis darīsim?  
Tām sievām garas mēles  
Kā tās cūku pavardnīcas!

Oh my God, oh my God,  
What will we do?  
Those women have long tongues  
Like the spoons used for pig swill!

V: Divi bija— [laughter]  
Es jums te—  
Divi bija, divi bija  
Abi divi saplēsās:  
Kad to vienu apdziedāja,  
Tad tas otrs apskaitās!

There were two— [laughter]  
[Second singer begins:] I'll tell you—  
There were two, there were two,  
The two of them got into a fight:  
When one was ridiculed in song,  
The other one became angry!

Es jums teikšu, diriģenti,  
Kāda slava jums atnāca:  
Jūs esot dziesmu dēji  
Pirtī pliki kāvušies!

I'll tell you, conductors,  
What they're gossiping about you:  
You fought over the songs  
Naked in the sauna!

K: Tu, Jansoni uzmanies,  
Ka tev stakle nepārplīst:  
Viena kāja Rīgā stāv,  
Otra stāva Ņujorkā!

Ko lieliesi, Vīgnerīti,  
Kas jau tevi nezināja?  
Paša āda nezināja,  
Svešas drēbes mugurā!

Luste man, luste man,  
Godmaņami mutes dot;  
Godmaņami liela bārda,  
Smiekli nāca, nevarēju!

Gorbunovsi smuks puisītis  
Par visiem puisīšiem:  
Tam galviņa [unclear]  
Kā [unclear] valodiņa!

Peterjānim kuplas miesas,  
Vēl kuplāka dvēselīt';  
Dod, Dieviņi, izturēt,  
Maskavāi grozoties!

Raimonds Pauls lielījās,  
Nemākuļus izdeldēt;  
Nemākuļi sabraukuši,  
Koši dziedā tavas dziesmas!

Mednīšami, brālīšami  
Trīs skroderi kreklu šuj:  
Divi šuva zelta pogas,  
Trešais zīda oderīt!

Kokarami Imantam,  
Tam rociņu daudz vaj'dzēja:  
Viena roka Rīgā māja,  
Otra māja Zalcburgā;  
Būt' bijusi trešā roka,  
Puspasauli piedziedātu!

Jansons, watch out  
That your crotch doesn't split:  
You stand with one leg in Rīga,  
And the other one in New York!

What are you bragging about, Vigners,  
Everybody knows you!  
Your own skin doesn't know you,  
Because you have somebody else's clothes on!

It would be fun, it would be fun,  
If I could kiss Godmanis;  
But Godmanis has a big beard,  
And I couldn't keep from laughing!

Gorbunovs is a pretty little boy,  
Prettiest of all the boys:  
His head is [unclear]  
His speech is [unclear]

Jānis Peters has a big body,  
And an even bigger soul;  
God grant that he hold out  
Working in Moscow!

Raimonds Pauls bragged  
That he would eliminate incompetents;  
The incompetents have arrived  
And are singing your songs!

Mednis  
Has three tailors making his suit:  
Two are sewing on golden buttons,  
The third one is making a silk lining!

Imants Kokars  
Needs many hands:  
One hand waves in Rīga,  
The other waves in Salzburg;  
If he had a third hand,  
He would sing half the world full!

Ko Zirņīti lielījies,  
Ka pie manis negulēji?  
Atrod tavu bikšu pogu  
Savas gultas malīnā!

Sila, sila man rociņa  
Dūrainīšus valkājot;  
Sila, sila man sirsnīņa  
Dūmiņ' Jāni ieraugot!

Ko tik bargi raudzījies,  
Miglaināmi actiņām?  
Vai tu biji mežā audzis,  
Vai meitiņu neredzēji?

Es redzēju Kveldes Pauli  
Ar meitiņu runājam;  
Es tam metu lielu riņķi,  
Viņiem kaunu nedarīj'.

Mūsu meitas bēdājās,  
Kur būs ņemti velētavu—  
Kurpniekami plata piere,  
Tā būs laba velētava!

Dziesmu dēļi, labi ļaudis,  
Kļaviņ' Juri nepeļat!  
Pieder kvieši pie [unclear]  
Pie Kļaviņa dziesmošana.

Dziedādama Ausma gāja,  
Gan rītāi, vakarā,  
Pār galviņu mētādama  
Ļaunas ļaužu valodiņ's.

Terēzīte smuka sieva  
Par visāmi sieviņām:  
Pulierēta, glazierēta,  
Tā kā mana pūra lāde!

Kas to teica, kas zināja,  
Kur Zobena nakti gul?  
Ēd brokastis Stokholmā,  
Pusdienoja Londonā!

What are you bragging about, Zirnis,  
That you haven't slept with me? —  
I found your pant button  
Next to my bed!

My hands become warm, so warm  
When I wear mittens;  
My heart becomes warm, so warm  
When I see Jānis Dūmiņš!

Why are you looking so angrily,  
With misty eyes?  
Did you grow up in a forest,  
Or haven't you ever seen a girl?

I saw Pauls Kvelde  
Talking to a girl;  
I kept my distance,  
I didn't want to shame them.

Our girls are sad, they don't know  
where to find a laundry beating club—  
Kurpnieks has a broad forehead,  
There's a good club for you!

Good people, don't put down Juris Kļaviņš  
Because of songs!  
The wheat goes well with [unclear],  
Singing goes well with Kļaviņš.

Ausma walks along, singing,  
In morning, in the evening,  
Tossing away  
The nasty gossip.

Terēze is a pretty lady,  
Prettier than the rest:  
Polished, glazed,  
Like my dowry chest!

Who knows  
Where Zobena sleeps at night?  
She eats breakfast in Stockholm,  
Lunch in London!

Maksiņai stipra rīkle,  
Tālu gāja skanēdama:  
Kanādā, Eiropā,  
Nu beidzoti Latvijā!

Ērenštreits puspasauli  
Krustu, šķērsu izbraukāj';  
Nu uzkāpa tribīnē,  
Rokas krustu šķērsu gāj'!

Kokar' Gidis, lūrmanītis,  
Lāpītāmi biksītēm:  
To kājiņu priekšā lika,  
Kur nebija ielāpiņi.

Bendrupami pavaicāju,  
Kur tu tādu spēku ņem;  
Šis man lepni atbildēja:  
"Tas man Dieva devumiņš!"

Bariem meitas, puisi gāja,  
Siliņ' Jānis sarindoja;  
Ja tas Jānis nerindotu,  
Meitas puisiem virsū kāptu!

Lai bij' dūša, kam bij' dūša,  
Pēterssonam, tam bij' dūša:  
Kaut neēda, kaut nedzēra,  
Zemes tomēr gaisā spēra.

Kam ēs vārdu zinājām,  
To mēs skaisti apdziedam;  
Kuram vārdu nezinām,  
Par Alfredu saukājam!

Cilnes Dairai, tai bij' rokas,  
Tā mācēja vicināt!  
I to mazo zvaneklīti  
Viņa skaisti skandināja!

Labāk mane daudzi draugu,  
Nekā daudzi ienaidniek'; —  
Draugs draugami roku deva,  
Naidenieki zobentiņ'.

Maksiņa has a strong voice,  
It sounds from afar:  
In Canada, in Europe,  
Now, finally, in Latvia!

Ērenštreits rode  
Criss-cross across half the world;  
Now he got up on the conducting stage,  
And his hands flapped criss-cross!

Gido Kokars, peeping tom,  
With patched up pants:  
When he puts one foot forward,  
It's the one without patches.

I asked Bendrups  
Where do you get such power?  
He proudly answered,  
"It is God's gift to me!"

The girls and guys came in droves,  
Jānis Siliņš lined them up;  
If he hadn't lined them up,  
The girls would be climbing all over the guys.

Many people have guts,  
Pēterssons, he has lots of guts:  
He doesn't eat, he doesn't drink,  
But kicks up the earth wherever he goes.

If we knew a person's name  
Then we're singing about him;  
If we don't know somebody's name  
We just call him Alfred!

Daira Cilne, she has hands!  
She knows how to wave them around!  
Even that little bell,  
She waved around beautifully!

I would rather have many friends  
Than many enemies:  
Friends give their hands to friends,  
Enemies give swords.

Dziesmu dēļi, labi ļaudis,  
Ienaidīņa neceliet:  
Dziesmu dziedu, kāda bija,  
Ne tā manis darināt'.

Good people, don't let songs  
Cause anger among us:  
I sing the song as it is,  
I didn't make it up.

Dziesmu dēļi, labi ļaudis,  
Ienaidīņa neturat:  
Dziesmu dziedu, kāda bija,  
Ne tā pašas darināt'.

Good people, don't let songs  
Make anger among us:  
I sing the song as it is,  
I didn't make it up.

Atmostas Baltija — The Baltic is Awakening (Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian)

Popular rock song in 1989, played at the closing of the 1990 Latvian National Dance Festival. Recorded on Mikrofons '89 (Rīga: Melodija, 1989). By B. Reznīks (Latvian), V. Pavlovskis (Latvian), S. Povilaitis (Lithuanian), and H. Karmo (Estonian). Sung by V. Burakovs-Zemgals (Latvian), Ž. Bubelis (Lithuanian), and T. Pihlap (Estonian); instrumental accompaniment by Eolika, a Latvian pop-music ensemble. Transcribed and translated with the help of Violeta Kelertas, Karl Pajusalu, and Toivo Raun.

Trīs māšas jūras malā stāv,  
Tās nespēks un nogurums māj;  
Tur bradāta zeme un dvēseles,  
Trīs tautu gods un prāts.  
Bet torņos jau likteņa zvani skan,  
Un jūra bangoties sāk,  
Trīs māšas no miega modušās  
Par zemi pastāvēt nāk.

Three sisters stand by the sea,  
Powerless and exhausted;  
Their land and their souls trampled,  
The honor and minds of three nations.  
But the bells of fate toll in the towers,  
An the sea begins to swell;  
Three sisters have awoken from sleep,  
And come to defend the land.

Atmostas Baltija, atmostas Baltija:  
Lietuva, Latvija, Igaunija. (2X)

Baltija is awakening, Baltija is awakening:  
Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia! (2X)

Prie jūros miega seserys trys,  
Jas slegia pančiai, neviltis,  
Nujoja lyg elgeta pajūriu,  
Dvasia tautų garbės.  
Bet varpas likimo nuaidi vėl,  
Ir jūra šaušia bangas;  
Trys seser's iš miego kyla jau,  
Apginti savo garbės.

By the sea sleep three sisters,  
Pressed by chains and despair;  
They ride, destitute down to the sea,  
And breathe the freedom of nations.  
But the bell of fate resounds,  
And the sea whips the waves;  
Three sisters awake from sleep  
To defend their honor.

Bunda jau Baltija, bunda jau Baltija:  
Lietuva, Latvija, Estija (2X)

Baltija is awakening, Baltija is awakening:  
Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia! (2X)

Kolm õde mere palge ees,  
 Neid uinutas lainete laul;  
 Kolm rahvast siin sajandeid heideldes,  
 Tõid ohvriks muistse au.  
 Kui tornides juba lõõb kella hää, l,  
 Merd haarab vabaduspüüd;  
 Et saatust ja elu kaitseda,  
 Kolm õde virguvad nüüd.

Three sisters face to face with the sea,  
 Lulled to sleep by the song of the waves,  
 Three nations struggled here for centuries,  
 Having lost their ancient honor.  
 When the bells in the towers ring out,  
 The desire for liberty swells the sea;  
 To protect their life and fate,  
 Three sisters awake now.

Ärgake Baltimaad, ärgake Baltimaad:  
 Leedumaa, Lätimaa, Eestimaa! (2X)

Wake up the Baltic lands:  
 Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia! (2X)

(Repeat refrains in all three languages)

### Eesti lipp — The Estonian Flag (Estonian)

Words by Martin Lipp (1854-1923), music by Enn Võrk (1905-1962).

Kaunistagem eesti kodjad  
 kolme koduvärviga,  
 mille alla eesti pojad  
 ühiselt võiks koonduda;  
 ühine neil olgu püüe  
 ühes venna armuga.  
 Kostku rõõmsalt meie hüie:  
 Eesti, Eesti, ela sa!

Let us decorate Estonian homes  
 with the three home colors,  
 under which the Estonian sons  
 May gather as one;  
 Let them have one goal  
 in unity with brotherly love.  
 Let our call sound out joyfully:  
 Estonia, Estonia, may you live!

Sinine on sinu taevaa,  
 kallia Eesti, kodumaa.  
 Oled kord aa ohus, vaevaa,  
 sinna üles vaata aa:  
 must on sinu mulla pinda,  
 mida higis haritud,  
 must on kuub, mis eesti rinda  
 vanast juba varjanud.

Blue is your sky,  
 dear Estonia, homeland.  
 If you are ever in danger or trouble,  
 look upward at it.  
 Black is your earth  
 which has been cultivated with sweat,  
 Black is the coat which the Estonian chest  
 Has worn since antiquity.

Sinine ja must ja valge  
 kaunistagu Eestimaad,  
 vili võrsugu siin selge,  
 paisugu tal täieks pead,  
 vaprast meeleat, venna armust  
 eesti kodjad kõlagu,  
 kostku taeva poole põrmust:  
 Eesti, Eesti, ela aa!

Let blue and black and white  
 decorate Estonia,  
 let the fields grow pure here,  
 let them bear much fruit,  
 let the Estonian homes resound  
 with brave minds, with brotherly love,  
 let it sound from below toward heaven:  
 Estonia, Estonia, live!

### Estonian National Anthem

Words by Johann Voldemar Jannsen (1819-1890), music by Fredrik Pacius (1809-1891)

Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm,  
kui kaunis oled sa!  
Ei leia mina iial tääl  
see suure laia ilma pääl,  
mis mul nii armas oleks ka  
kui sa, mu isamaa!

Sa oled mind ju sünnitand  
ja üles kasvatand!  
Sind tänan mina alati  
ja jään sull' truuks surmani!  
Mull' kõige armsam oled sa,  
mu kallis isamaa!

Su üle Jumal valvaku,  
mu kallis isamaa!  
Ta olgu sinu kaitseja  
ja võtku rohkest õnnista,  
mis iial ette võtad sa,  
mu kallis isamaa!

My fatherland, my happiness and joy,  
How beautiful you are!  
I shall not find anything  
in this great, wide world  
which would be as dear to me  
as you, my fatherland!

You have given birth to me,  
And raised me!  
I will always thank you  
And remain true to you until death!  
You are dearest of all to me,  
my dear fatherland!

God watch over you,  
My dear fatherland!  
Let Him be your protector,  
and bless  
anything that you should undertake,  
my dear fatherland!

### Gaismas pils — Castle of Light (Latvian)

Text by the Latvian national poet Auseklis (1850-1879), was set to music and first performed at the festival of 1910. It was placed in all subsequent festival programs until 1955; missing in the two festivals (1960, 1965) which followed the purge of the late fifties, it reappeared in the official program in 1970, 1973, and 1980, but was omitted in 1977 and 1985.

Kurzemīte, Dievzemīte,  
Brīvās tautas auklētāj',  
Kur palika sirmie dievi?  
Brīvie tautas dēliņi?  
Tie līgoja vecos laikus  
Gaismas kalna galotnē.  
Visapkārti egļu meži,  
Vidū gaiša tautas pils.

Kurzeme, God's country,  
Nurturer of a free nation,  
Where have the greying gods gone,  
The free sons of the nation?  
They sang in the olden days  
At the top of the hill of light.  
All around, spruce forests,  
In the center, the bright castle of the nation.



Asinainas dienas ausa  
Tēvu zemes ielejā,  
Vergu valgā tauta nāca,  
Nāvē krita varoņi.  
Ātri grima, ātri zuda  
Gaismas kalna staltā pils.  
Tur guļ mūsu tēvu dievi,  
Tautas gara greznumi.

Sirmajami ozolami  
Pēdīgajo ziedu dod:  
Tas slēpj svētu piles vārdu  
Dzilās siržu rētiņās.  
Ja kas vārdu uzminētu,  
Augšām celtos vecā pils!  
Tālu laistu tautas slavu,  
Gaismas starus margodam'.

Tautas dēli uzminēja  
Sen aizmirstu svētumu:  
Gaismu sauca! Gaisma ausa,  
Augšām ceļas Gaismas pils!

Bloody days dawned  
In the valley of the fatherland,  
The nation became slaves,  
Heroes died in battle.  
Swiftly it sank, swiftly disappeared,  
the proud castle on the hill of light.  
There lie the gods of our fathers,  
The splendor of the nation's soul.

To the gray old oak  
The final offering is made:  
It hides the holy name of the castle  
Deep in its scarred heart.  
If the name were to be guessed,  
The old castle would rise!  
It would proclaim the glory of the nation,  
Glimmering with rays of light.

The sons of the nation guessed  
The long-forgotten, sacred riddle:  
They called light! The light dawned,  
The castle of light rose up!

### Koit — Dawn (Estonian)

Words by Friedrich Kuhlbars (1841-1924), music by Mihkel Lüdig (1880-1958). The song was often performed at the opening of Estonian Song Festivals during the Soviet period. It was performed in Lithuanian translation at the Lithuanian National Song Festival of 1990.

Laulud nüüd lähevad kaunimal kõlal,  
Vägevail vooludel üle me maa,  
Vägevail vooludel üle me maa.

Songs now resound in a beautiful melody,  
In powerful streams across our land,  
In powerful streams across our land.

Ilu, see edeneb õuede õlal:  
Isamaa pind ärkab õitsema.

Beauty it flourishes in the gardens:  
The earth of the fatherland awakens to bloom.

Mägede harjadel kumamas koit.  
Taevasse tõusku me lootuse loit!  
Taevasse tõusku me lootuse loit!

Dawn glimmers at the mountain tops.  
Let the flame of our hope rise into the sky!  
Let the flame of our hope rise into the sky!

**Kungla rahvas — The People of Kungla (Estonian)**

Words by Friedrich Kuhlbars (1841-1924), music by Karl August Hermann (1851-1909).  
The mythological characters of the song were invented by 19th-century Estonian romantics,  
but have since folklorized and become part of the national culture (Viires 1991: 140).

Kui Kungla rahvas kuldseal a'al  
Kord istus maha sööma,  
Siis Vanemuine murumaal  
Läks kandle lugu lööma.

When the people of Kungla in the golden age  
Once sat down to eat,  
Then Vanemuine on the grassy turf  
Went to play music on the kannel.

Läks aga metsa mängima (2X)  
Läks aga laande lauluga (2X)

But he went into the forest to play,  
But he went into the woods with a song.

Sealt saivad linnad ja lehepuu  
Ja loomad laululugu;  
Siis laulis mets ja mere suu  
Ja Eesti rahva sugu.

From this the bird and tree leaf  
And animals received their song;  
Then the forest sang, and the sea,  
And the Estonian people.

Läks aga...

But he went...

Siis kõlas kaunist' lauluviis  
Ja pärjad pandi pähe.  
Ka murueide tütreid siis  
Sai Eesti rahvas näha.

Then the song melody sounded beautifully  
And they wore wreaths on their heads.  
Forest fairies appeared, too,  
To the Estonian people.

Läks aga...

But he went...

Ma laulan mäetal, mäe peal  
Ja õhtu hilja õues,  
Ja Vanemuise kandle hää  
See põksub minu põues.

I sing on the turf and on the hill  
And late at night in the farmyard,  
And the sound of Vanemuine's kannel  
It beats in my bosom.

Läks aga...

But he went...

Kur bėga Šešupė — Where the Šešupė River Flows (Lithuanian)

Words by Maironis (1862-1932). First set to music by J. Naujalis (performed 1924), then by Č. Šasnauskas (1928, 1930). Sung at all three national song festivals of the independence period, the song did not again appear in festival programs until 1990.

Kur bėga Šešupė,  
kur Nemunas teka,  
Tai mūsų tėvynė,  
graži Lietuva;  
Čia broliai artojai  
lietuviškai šneka,  
Čia skamba po kaimus  
Birutės daina.  
Bėkit, bėkit, mūsų upės  
į marias giliausias!  
Ir skambėkit, mūsų dainos,  
po šalis plačiausias!

Kur rausta žemčiūgai,  
kur rūtos žaliuoja,  
Ir mūsų sesučių  
dabina kazas,  
Kur sode raiboji  
gegutė kukuoja —  
Ten mūsų sodybas  
keleivis atras.  
Kur žemčiūgai, žalios rūtos,  
kur raiba gegutė,  
Ten tėvynė, ten sodybos,  
ten sena močiutė.

Čia Vytautas Didis  
garsiai viešpatavo,  
Ties Žalgiriu priešus  
nuveikęs piktus;  
Čia bočiai už laisvę  
per amžius kariavo,  
Čia mūsų tėvynė  
ir buvo ir bus.  
Čia, kur Vytautas Didysis  
valdė mus ir gynė.  
Bus per amžius, kaip ir buvus,  
Lietuva tėvynė!

Where Šešupė flows,  
where Nemunas runs,  
That is our fatherland,  
beautiful Lithuania;  
Here our brothers, plowmen  
speak Lithuanian,  
Here the songs of Birutė  
sound across villages.  
Flow, flow, our rivers,  
to the deepest of seas!  
And resound our songs,  
across the farthest of lands!

Where morning glories bloom red,  
where the rue grows green,  
And braids adorn  
our beautiful sisters,  
In the orchard  
a cuckoo sings —  
There a traveller will find  
our farmsteads.  
By morning glories, green rue,  
by the speckled cuckoo,  
There is the fatherland, farmlands,  
and dear old mother.

Here Vytautas the Great  
ruled with fame,  
Having defeated vicious enemies  
by Žalgiris;  
Here ancestors fought for freedom  
through the centuries,  
Here our fatherland  
was and will be.  
Here, where Vytautas the Great  
ruled and protected us.  
Through the centuries as always,  
Lithuania, fatherland!

Apsaugok, Aukščiausias,  
tą mylimą šalį,  
Kur mūsų sodybos,  
kur bočių kapai!  
Juk tėviška Tavo  
malonė daug gali!  
Mes Tavo per amžius  
suvargę vaikai.  
Neapleisk, Aukščiausias, mūsų,  
ir brangios tėvynės!  
Maloningas ir galingas  
per visas gadytes.

Protect, o Highest One,  
this dear land,  
Where our farmsteads are,  
and the graves of ancestors!  
Your fatherly grace  
is able to do anything!  
We are Your children,  
wearied by the centuries.  
Don't abandon, o Highest One,  
our dear fatherland,  
Full of grace and all powerful  
through all times.

Kur lygūs laukai — Where the Level Plains Are (Lithuanian)

Words by Maironis (1862-1932), music by Juozas Tallat-Kelpša (1889-1949).

Kur lygūs laukai,  
Snaudžia tamsūs miškai,  
Lietuviai barzdočiai dūmoja;  
Galanda kirvius,  
Kalavijus aštrius  
Ir juodbėrį žirgą balnoja,

Where the level plains are,  
Where the dark forests sleep,  
Bearded Lithuanians tend smoky fires;  
They whet their axes,  
and swords sharp  
And saddle the black-bay steed,

Nuo Prūsų šalies,  
Kaip sparnai debesies,  
Nuo Prūsų šalies,  
Kaip sparnai debesies,  
Padangėmis raitosi dūmai;

From the land of the Prussians,  
Like the wings of a cloud,  
From the land of the Prussians,  
Like the wings of a cloud,  
The smoke coils in the skies;

Tai gaisro ugnis,  
šviečia dieną naktis:  
Tai gaisro ugnis,  
šviečia dieną naktis:  
Liepsnoje ir girios, ir rūmai.

It is the fires of war,  
Lighting night into day:  
It is the fires of war,  
Lighting night into day:  
In flames are the forests and castles.

Kryželių seniai  
Suprašinti svečiai  
Į vaišes per Lietuvą traukia;  
Ištroškę garbės,  
Kai aušra patekės,  
Išvis, ko visai nebelaukia.

Tarp tyrų plačių  
Ne staugimas žvėrių,  
Tarp tyrų plačių  
Ne staugimas žvėrių,  
O ne! Tai našlaitės lietuvės:

Ar verkia sūnaus,  
Ar bernužio brangaus,  
Ar verkia sūnaus,  
Ar bernužio brangaus,  
Kurs jų nebeginsias pražuvęs.

Lietuvių pulkai,  
Kaip apsako žvalgai,  
Ties Kaunu per Nemuną plaukia;  
Po kaimus šauklįs  
(Jo putotas arklys)  
Į kovą lietuvininkus šaukia.

Sutrinko miškai,  
Lyg Perkūnas aukštai,  
Ir štai netikėtai lietuviai,  
Tarytum ugnis,  
Kad ant slogo užšvis,  
Apraitė kryžėlius užgriuvę.

The elders of the Crusaders,  
Invited as guests  
Make their way across Lithuania, feasting;  
Thirsty for glory,  
But when morning will dawn,  
The unexpected will happen.

In the wilderness  
It is not the howling of beasts,  
In the wilderness  
It is not the howling of beasts,  
Oh, no! It is the widowed Lithuanian women:

Weeping for a son,  
Or for a dear young man,  
Weeping for a son,  
Or for a dear young man,  
Who has fallen, and no longer will defend  
them.

The troops of the Lithuanians,  
As the scouts report,  
Are crossing the Nemunas by Kaunas;  
Through the villages the cryer  
(his horse in a white sweat)  
Calls the Lithuanians to battle.

The forests rumble,  
Like Perkūnas [God of Thunder] on high  
And suddenly, unexpectedly the Lithuanians  
Like fire  
Flaring up  
Surrounded and attacked the Crusaders.

### Latvian National Anthem

Words and music by Kārlis Baumanis (1835-1905).

Dievs, svētī Latviju,  
Mūs' dārgo tēviju,  
Svētī jel Latviju  
Ak, svētī jel to!

Kur latvju meitas zied,  
Kur latvju dēli dzied,  
Laid mums tur laimē diet,  
Mūs' Latvijā!

God, bless Latvia,  
Our dear fatherland,  
Bless Latvia,  
Give it your blessing!

Where Latvian daughters bloom,  
Where Latvian sons sing,  
Let us sing there in happiness,  
In our Latvia!

Leiskit į tėvynę — Let Me Return to My Fatherland (Lithuanian)

Words by Juozas Gudavičius (1873-1939). Several variants of the song have appeared in Lithuania; this one is from a booklet of exile songs published in Lithuania.

Leiskit į tėvynę,  
Leiskit pas savus,  
Ten pradžiugs krūtinė,  
Atgaivins jausmus.

Ten pradžiugs krūtinė,  
Atgaivins jausmus.

Let me return to my fatherland,  
Let me return to my own people,  
There the breast will rejoice,  
And will revive the feelings.

There the breast will rejoice,  
And will revive the feelings.

Pirm negu aušrelė  
Skaisti užtekės,  
Ten mano dainelė  
Linksmi suskambės.

Ten mano dainelė  
Linksmi suskambės.

Before the dawn  
Lights up brightly,  
There my song  
Will resound cheerfully.

There my song  
Will resound cheerfully.

Čia jausmai man žūva,  
Kaline širdis,  
Leiskit į Lietuvą —  
Akys ten nušvis.

Leiskit į Lietuvą —  
Akys ten nušvis.

Here my feelings have died,  
My heart is imprisoned,  
Let me return to Lithuania —  
My eyes will regain their light there.  
Let me return to Lithuania —  
My eyes will regain their light there.

Medžių ten ošimas  
Giedančiom pritaras,  
Šventas įkvėpimas  
Dainą man sutvers.  
Šventas įkvėpimas.  
Dainą man sutvers.

The rustle of the trees there  
Will be in harmony with the singers,  
Holy inspiration  
Will create a song for me.  
Holy inspiration  
Will create a song for me.

Nemuną dabina  
Gražiūs jo krantai,  
Širdį ten ramina  
Meilesni jausmai.  
Širdį ten ramina  
Meilesni jausmai.

The Nemunas [river] is adorned  
By its beautiful shores,  
The heart is calmed there  
By the dearest of feelings.  
The heart is calmed there  
By the dearest of feelings.

Svetimaj padangėj  
Nemalonu, ne,  
Tėviškėlę brangią  
Vis regiu sapne.  
Tėviškėlę brangią  
Vis regiu sapne

Beneath a foreign sky,  
It is not pleasant, no,  
My dear fatherland  
Keeps appearing in my dreams.  
My dear fatherland  
Keeps appearing in my dreams.

Lietuva brangi — Dear Lithuania (Lithuanian)

Text by the Lithuanian national poet, Maironis (1862-1932), set to music by the leading composer and organizer of the first Lithuanian song festival of 1924, Juozas Naujalis (1869-1934). The song became an "unofficial national anthem" during the Soviet period. It did not appear in the official programs of the song festivals for many years (see Jakelaitis 1970).

Lietuva brangi, mano tėvyne,  
Šalis kur miega kapuos didvyriai;  
Graži tu savo dangaus mėlyne!  
Brangi: tiek vargo, kančių prityrei.  
Graži tu savo dangaus mėlyne!  
Brangi: tiek vargo, kančių prityrei.

Kaip puikūs slėniai sraunios Dubysos,  
Miškais lyg rūta kalnai žaliuoja;

O po tuos kalnus sesutės visos  
Griaudžiai malonias dainas dainuoja.  
O po tuos kalnus sesutės visos  
Griaudžiai malonias dainas dainuoja.

Ten susimąstęs tamsus Nevėžis  
Kaip juosta juosia žaliąsias pievas;  
Banguoja, vagą giliai išrėžęs,  
Jo gilią mintį težino Dievas.  
Banguoja, vagą giliai išrėžęs,  
Jo gilią mintį težino Dievas.

Graži tu mano, brangi tėvyne,  
Šalis, kur miega kapuos didvyriai!  
Ne veltui bočiai tave taip gynė,  
Ne veltui dainiai plačiai išgyrė!

Ne veltui bočiai tave taip gynė,  
Ne veltui dainiai plačiai išgyrė!

Dear Lithuania, my fatherland,  
Land where heroes lie in the graves;  
You are beautiful with the blue of your sky!  
Dear to us, because you have suffered much.  
You are beautiful with the blue of your sky!  
Dear to us, because you have suffered much.

How beautiful are the valleys of the rapid  
Dubysa [River],  
The hills, as if covered by rue, are green with  
forests;

And beyond those hills the sisters  
Sing dear, sad songs.  
And beyond those hills the sisters  
Sing dear, sad songs.

There, deep in thought, dark Nevėžis River  
Like a belt embraces the green fields;  
It ripples in its deep channel,  
Let God alone know its mind's depths.  
It ripples in its deep channel,  
Let God alone know its mind's depths.

My beautiful, dear fatherland,  
Land where heroes lie in the graves!  
Not in vain did the ancestors defend you,  
Not in vain did the bards sing of you far and  
wide!

Not in vain did the ancestors defend you,  
Not in vain did the bards sing of you far and  
wide!

### Lietuviais esame mes gime — We Were Born Lithuanians (Lithuanian)

Two stanzas from the seven-stanza poem by Jurgis Sauerverinas (1831-1904) were revised into standard literary Lithuanian. In autumn of 1991, the song was played together with the Lithuanian National Anthem on Lithuanian radio at the end of each broadcast day.

Lietuviais esame mes gime,  
Lietuviais norime ir būt!  
Tą garbę gavome užgime,  
Jai ir neturim leist pražūt!

We were born Lithuanians,  
And we wish to be Lithuanians!  
We were given that honor when we were born,  
We cannot let it die!

Kaip ažuols drūts prie Nemunėlio  
Lietuvis nieko neatbos!  
Kaip eglė ten prie Šešupėlio,  
Ir vėtroj, ir žiema žaliuos!

Like a sturdy oak by the Nemunas River,  
The Lithuanian will never bend or bow!  
Like a spruce by the Šešupė River,  
Flourishing in the storm, and in winter.

Lietuviais esame mes gime,  
Lietuviais norime ir būt!  
Tą garbę gavome užgime,  
Jai ir neturim leist pražūt!  
Jai ir neturim leist pražūt!

We were born Lithuanians,  
And we wish to be Lithuanians!  
We were given that honor when we were born,  
We cannot let it die!  
We cannot let it die!

### Lithuanian National Anthem

Words and music by Vincas Kudirka (1858-1899).

Lietuva, Tėvyne mūsų, tu didvyrių žeme,  
Iš praeities tavo sūnūs te stiprybę semia.

Lithuania, our fatherland, land of heroes!  
Let your sons gather strength from history.

Tegul Tavo vaikai eina vien takais  
dorybės,  
Tegul dirba Tavo naudai ir žmonių  
gėrybei.

Let your children walk only the paths of  
virtue,  
Let them work for your benefit and for the  
good of humanity.

Tegul saulė Lietuvoj tamsumas prašalina,  
Ir šviesa, ir tiesa mūs žingsnius telydi.

Let the sun overcome darkness in Lithuania,  
Let light and truth guide our steps,

Tegul meilė Lietuvos dega mūsų širdyse,  
Vardan tos Lietuvos vienybė težydi!

Let love of Lithuania burn in our hearts,  
In the name of Lithuania, let unity blossom.



### Manai dzimtenei

Words by Jānis Peters (b. 1939), music by Raimonds Pauls (b. 1936). The words recall two other poems of the Latvian national movement: Gaismas pils (Castle of Light) by Auseklis (1850-1879), and Lauztās priedes (Broken Pines) by Rainis (1865-1929), both of which were had unofficial meanings of national opposition to Soviet rule in Latvia.

Man stāstīja Daugaviņ',  
Kā liktenis vīdamās,  
Dziesma savus svētkus svin,  
Ar bāliņu celdamās.  
Tā dziedāja bāleliņš,  
Pret likteni stāvēdams —  
Viņa dziesmā gadu simts  
Kā mūžiņis krāsojās.

Vēl nāks Piektais gads,  
asins lietus līs,  
Un visaugstākās  
priedes nolauzīs.  
Iesim strēlniekos,  
dziesma vētru sēs.  
Mūžam gaismas pils  
kalnā gaviļēs.

Lai balstiņis vīdamās  
Pār novadu aizvijās.  
Dziesma savus svētkus svin,  
Ar bāliņu celdamās.  
Tā dziedāja bāleliņš,  
Pret likteni stāvēdams —  
Viņa dziesmā gadusimts  
Kā mūžiņis krāsojās.

Cauri sirdīm mums  
lauztās priedes augs,  
Jaunā gaitā mūs  
jauni rīti sauks.  
Tālāk mūžībā  
dziedot iesim mēs.  
Mūžam gaismas pils  
kalnā gaviļēs.

The Daugava River told me,  
Winding like Fate,  
Song is celebrating its holiday,  
Rising with brother.  
Thus sang brother,  
Standing against fate —  
In his song, the century  
Colors like a life.

1905 is yet to come,  
a rain of blood will fall,  
And break  
the tallest pines.  
Let us join the Riflemen,  
song will sow a storm.  
Forever, the castle of light  
will rejoice on the hill.

Let the voices intertwined  
Travel across the land.  
Song celebrates its holiday,  
Rising with brother.  
Thus sang brother,  
Standing against fate —  
In his song the century  
Colors like life.

Through our hearts  
the broken pines will grow,  
On a new course,  
new mornings will call us.  
Further into eternity  
we will go singing.  
Forever the castle of light  
will rejoice on the hill.

Mazs bij' tēva novadīnis — My Father's Homestead Is Small (Latvian)

Folksong arranged by Helmers Pavasars (b. 1903). It is a song expressing pride in the native land, and became one of the "unofficial anthems" sung by Latvians during the Soviet period. It was sung in Lithuanian translation at the Lithuanian National Song Festival of 1990.

Mazs bij' tēva novadīnis,  
Bet diženi turējās.

My father's district is small,  
But it prospers.

Visi sīki kadiķīši  
Zied sidraba ziedīņiem.

All of the small juniper trees  
Bloom with silver blossoms.

Arājs ara kalniņāi,  
Avots teka lejiņā.

The plowman plows on the hill,  
The spring flows in the valley.

Netrūkst maizes arājami,  
Ne ūdeņa avotam.

The plowman doesn't lack bread,  
The spring doesn't lack water.

Visiem labi, visiem labi  
Manā tēva zemītē.

Life is good for everybody  
In my father's land.

Zaķim labi cilpu mesti,  
Rubenimi rubināt.

The rabbit has a good place for running,  
The grouse has a good place for singing.

Mu isamaa armas — My Dear Fatherland (Estonian)

Words by Martin Kõrber (1817-1893), translated from German (original, "Wir hatten gebauet," by G. Massmann) and published in a popular Estonian songbook of 1866. The song folklorized in several variants, and became a popular game-song in the early twentieth century (Rüütel 1983: 405-413). The game-song was a favorite in the repertoire of the folklore ensemble, Leigarid.

Mu isamaa armas,  
kus sündinud ma!

My dear fatherland,  
where I was born!

Sind armastan ma järjest,  
ja kiidan lauluga,  
Sind armastan ma järjest,  
ja kiidan lauluga!

I will love you forever,  
and praise you in song,  
I will love you forever,  
and praise you in song!

Ei seedrid, ei palmid  
ei kasva me maal.

Cedars and palms  
don't grow in our country.

Meil siiski kenad männid  
ja kuused, kased ka. (2X)

But beautiful pines,  
And spruce, and birch, too.

Ei hõbedat, kulda  
ei leia me maal.  
Meil viljakandvat mulda  
on küllalt igal pool. (2X)

Neither silver nor gold  
can be found in our land.  
But we have fruitful soil  
everywhere.

Oh õitse veel kaua,  
Mu isade maa!  
See maa, kus palju vahvust  
ja vaimuvara ka! (2X)

Oh flourish yet for a long time,  
Land of my fathers!  
Land with much courage  
and spiritual wealth!

Su hooleks end annan  
Ja truuks sulle jään  
nii kaua, kui kord suren  
ja oma hauda lä'en! (2X)

I will devote myself to your protection  
and will remain true to you,  
until I die  
and go to my grave!

Mu isamaa on minu arm — My Fatherland is My Love (Estonian)

Words by Lydia Koidula (1843-1886), set to music by her father, Johann Voldemar Jannsen (1819-1890); performed at the first National Song Festival of 1869. New musical arrangement by Gustav Ernesaks (1908-1992) first appeared in the program of the Estonian National Song Festival of 1947, and became an "unofficial national anthem" during the Soviet period.

Mu isamaa on minu arm,  
kel südant annud ma,  
sull' laulan ma, mu ülem õnn,  
mu õitsev Eestimaa.  
Su valu südames mul keeb,  
su õnn ja rõõm mind rõõmsaks teeb,  
su õnn ja rõõm mind rõõmsaks teeb,  
mu isamaa, mu isamaa.

My fatherland is my love,  
to it I've given my heart,  
I sing to you, my greatest joy,  
my flourishing Estonia.  
Your pain boils in my heart,  
your happiness and joy make me joyful,  
your happiness and joy make me joyful,  
my fatherland, my fatherland.

Mu isamaa on minu arm,  
ei teda jäta ma,  
ja peaksin sada surma ma  
seepärast surema.  
Ja peaksin sada surma ma  
seepärast surema.  
Kas laimab võõra kadedus,  
sa siiski elad südames,  
sa siiski elad südames,  
mu isamaa, mu isamaa.

My fatherland is my love,  
I will not leave it,  
and even if I had to die  
one hundred deaths.  
And even if I had to die  
one hundred deaths.  
Even if foreign envy slanders you,  
you still live in my heart,  
you still live in my heart,  
my fatherland, my fatherland.

Mu isamaa on minu arm,  
 ja tahan puhata.  
 Su rüppe heidan unele,  
 mu püha Eestimaa.  
 Su rüppe heidan unele,  
 mu püha Eestimaa.  
 Su linnud und mul laulavad,  
 mu põrmust lilli õitsetad,  
 mu põrmust lilli õitsetad,  
 mu isamaa, mu isamaa.

My fatherland is my love,  
 Here I wish to be laid to rest,  
 Upon your breast I'll fall asleep,  
 my holy Estonia.  
 Upon your bosom I'll fall asleep,  
 my holy Estonia.  
 Your birds will sing me to sleep,  
 make flowers bloom upon my grave,  
 make flowers bloom upon my grave,  
 my fatherland, my fatherland.

Pūt, vējiņi — Blow, Wind (Latvian)

Folksong arranged by Andrejs Jurjāns (1856-1922). The song did not have such strong patriotic connotations before the Second World War, although its title was used by the national poet of Latvia, Rainis, as the title of a patriotic play written in 1914. In the Soviet period, it was included in the official programs of 1948, 1950, 1955, and 1960; it probably acquired its tacit meaning at these four festivals, and was dropped from the subsequent programs, to reappear only once in the official festival concert— at the centennial of 1973. Participants say, however, that it was sung unofficially at every festival.

Pūt, vējiņi, dzen laiviņu,  
 Aizdzen mani Kurzemē.

Blow wind, drive my boat,  
 Drive me to Kurzeme.

Kurzemniece man solīja  
 Sav' meitiņu malējiņ'.

A woman from Kurzeme promised me  
 Her daughter as a bride.

Solīt sola, bet nedeķa,  
 Teic man' lielu dzērājiņ'.

She promised, but didn't fill the promise,  
 Calling me a drunkard.

Teic man' lielu dzērājiņu,  
 Kumeliņa skrējējiņ'.

She called me a drunkard,  
 And a horse racer.

Kuru krogu es izdzēru,

Where is the tavern in which I drank too  
 much,

Kam noskrēju kumeliņ'?

Whose horse did I run down?

Pats par savu naudu dzēru,  
 Pats skrēj' savu kumeliņ'.

I drink only for my own money,  
 And ride only my own horse.

Pūt vējiņi, dzen laiviņu,  
 Aizdzen mani Kurzemē.

Blow wind, drive my boat,  
 Drive me to Kurzeme.

Saaremaa Island (Estonian)

Popular song sung by choirs walking in the Estonian Song Festival procession.

Ma vaatan paadist kiikriga,  
kui kaugel on see Saaremaa.

I watch through a telescope from a boat,  
how far is this Saaremaa Island.

Ei paremat pole kuski maal,  
kui suisel ajal Saaremaal.

There is no better place anywhere  
than Saaremaa in the summer.

Seal Saaremaal ei kasva muud  
kui kadakad ja männipuud.

There on Saaremaa nothing else grows  
than juniper and pine.

Ei paremat...

There is no better...

Mu pruut on valge nagu tui,  
Ma nägin teda mullu sui.

My bride is white as a dove,  
I saw her last summer.

Ei paremat...

There is no better...

Tal mustad juuksed, valge kael  
ja kaela ümber sametpael.

She has black hair, a white neck,  
and around her neck a satin ribbon.

Ei paremat...

There is no better...

Tal roosipõõsas voodi ees  
ja ööbik laulab selle sees.

She has a rosebush in front of her bed,  
and a nightingale sings in it.

Ei paremat...

There is no better...

Ma rüüpan merest soolast vett  
ja räägin armsamale tõtt.

I'll sip the salty water of the sea  
and tell the truth to my dearest one.

Ei paremat...

There is no better...

Kui tahad mulle naiseks tulla sa,  
pead Saaremaale sõudema.

If you want to become my wife,  
You must row out to Saaremaa.

Ei paremat...

There is no better...

Šeit ir Latvija — Latvia is Here (Latvian)

Song popularized by Jānis Ērenštreits during the 1980s. A favorite during the Song Festival procession, also sung by the public going home after the Festival concerts.

Šeit kur ozoli zaļo zemzari,  
Šeit kur vīri stāv, nāves nebaidās:

Here, where the oaks flourish green,  
Here, where the men stand, not fearing death:

Šeit ir Latvija, šeit ir Gaujmala,  
Šeit ir mūsu tēvu dzimtene.  
Šeit ir Latvija, šeit ir Gaujmala,  
Šeit ir mūsu tēvu dzimtene.

Latvia is here, here is the shore of the Gauja,  
Here is the homeland of our fathers.  
Latvia is here, here is the shore of the Gauja,  
Here is the homeland of our fathers.

Kalna galiņā ganiņš stabulē,  
Arājs vagu dzen, pats pa malu iet.

On the hilltop, a herdsboy blows a whistle,  
The plowman drives a furrow, walking along  
the edge.

Šeit ir Latvija...

Latvia is here...

Jāņu vakarā kopā sanākam,  
Alu iedzeram, dziesmas uzdziedam.

On Midsummer Night, we come together,  
We drink beer, we sing some songs.

Šeit ir Latvija...

Latvia is here...

Bet, kad likten's reiz šķirs uz mūžu mūs,  
Kausu pēdējo dzersim Latvijai.

But when fate separates us forever someday,  
We will drink our last mug of beer to Latvia.

Šeit ir Latvija...

Latvia is here...

Tev mūžam dzīvot, Latvija! — May You Live Forever, Latvia! (Latvian)

Words by Vilis Plūdons (1874-1940), melody by Jānis Medīņš (1890-1966).

Tev mūžam dzīvot, Latvija,  
Kā saulei, kas mirdz debess klajā!  
Tu jauna zvaigzne zvaigznājā,  
Kas uzlekusi nule tajā!

May you live forever, Latvia,  
Like the sun shining in the sky!  
You are a new star in the firmament  
which has just appeared in it.

Tev mūžam dzīvot, Latvija,  
Kā jūrai, kas tev šalc pie kājām!  
Pats Dievs senseis svētīja  
Še tavas āres mums par mājām.

May you live forever, Latvia,  
Like the sea thundering by your feet!  
Long ago, God himself blessed  
These fields to be our home.

Tev mūžam dzīvot, Latvija,  
Kā jūrai lepni, saulei cēli.  
Tu mūsu māte dārgajā,  
Mēs tavas meitas, tavi dēli.

May you live forever, Latvia,  
Proud as the sea, noble as the sun.  
You are our precious mother,  
We are your daughters and your sons.

Tev mūžam dzīvot, Latvija,  
Tu tēvzeme mums Dieva dota!  
Lai latvju tauta vienotā  
Aug spēkā, slavā, daiļumā!

May you live forever, Latvia,  
You are our fatherland, given to us by God!  
Let the unified Latvian nation  
Grow in strength, in fame, in beauty!

Trīs zvaigznes — Three Stars (Latvian)

Words by the Latvian poet Māra Zālīte (b. 1952), music by Estonian composer Veljo Tormis (b. 1930). The words refer to three stars in the hands of a statue of a woman which stands at the tip of the Latvian Liberty Monument in Rīga. Nearby is a clock tower with an advertisement for Laima chocolates, a popular meeting place in Riga.

Es tevi ļoti gaidīšu.  
Bet ne pie pulksteņa.  
Pie Laika.  
Pie debesīm es stāvēšu,  
Un manā rokā slaikā  
Trīs zvaigznes būs,  
Lai pazītu tu mani.  
Es tevi ļoti gaidīšu.  
Pie Darba un pie Gribas.  
Pie Dziesmas, Goda, Valodas,  
Pie mūsu mīlestības.

I will wait for you.  
But not by the clock tower.  
By Time.  
By the sky I will stand,  
And in my slender hand  
Will be three stars,  
So that you would know me.  
I will wait for you.  
By Work and by Will.  
By Song, Honor, Language,  
By our love.

## APPENDIX II

### BALTIC<sup>1</sup> NATIONAL SONG FESTIVALS, NUMBER OF PERFORMERS

<u>Estonian</u> <sup>2</sup>			<u>Latvian</u> <sup>3</sup>			<u>Lithuanian</u> <sup>4</sup>		
I	1869	789						
II	1879	1,070	I	1873	1,003			
III	1880	684	II	1880	1,653			
IV	1891	2,300	III	1888	2,618			
V	1894	3,471						
VI	1896	4,841	IV	1895	3,000			
VII	1910	8,950	V	1910	2,300			
VIII	1923	9,728				I	1924	3,000
			VI	1926	6,526	II	192	6,000
IX	1928	12,643				III	1930	6,000
			VII	1931	11,853			
X	1933	14,680	VIII	1933	10,600			
XI	1938	15,790	IX	1938	14,450			
						IV	1946	11,778
XII	1947	24,590	X	1948	14,542 <sup>5</sup>			
XIII	1950	30,037	XI	1950	13,866	V	1950	24,670
XIV	1955	28,621 (27,771)	XII	1955	10,767	VI	1955	25,414
XV	1960	27,573 (26,363)	XIII	1960	11,248	VII	1960	22,122
XVI	1965	22,856 (20,356)	XIV	1965	12,331	VIII	1965	19,441
XVII	1969	26,930 (24,230)						
			XV	1970	12,700	IX	1970	16,584
			XVI	1973	14,800			
XVIII	1975	24,500 (21,800)				X	1975	19,362
			XVII	1977	14,466			
XIX	1980	24,567 (21,808)	XVIII	1980	17,425	XI	1980	20,000
XX	1985	22,170 (19,880)	XIX	1985	16,850	XII	1985	20,000
XXI	1990	28,000	XX	1990	20,023	XIII	1990	16,000



1. Baltic German song festivals: 1857 (Tallinn, 200 singers); 1861 (Rīga, 670 singers); 1866 (Tallinn); 1880 (Rīga, 800 singers). Sources: Millers 1990: 31-32, Põldmäe 1969: 24. Baltic student song festivals of the Soviet period (Gaudeamus): 1956 Tartu; 1958 Rīga; 1967 Tartu; 1968 Vilnius; 1971 Ogre; 1974 Tartu; 1978 Vilnius; 1981 Rīga; 1984 Tallinn; 1988 Vilnius.
2. Calculated from numbers in The 21st National Song Festival..., p. 22. Numbers in parentheses ( ) exclude Russian choirs. Number for 1990 reported in Estonian Independent, 4 July 1990, p. 1.
3. XX Vispārējie latviešu dziesmu svētki... 1990: 14-16. Number for 1990 reported in Latvija Amerikā, 28 July 1990.
4. Sources: for 1924-1930, Zinkus 1982: 258-259; for 1946-1975, Zubrickas 1979: 362; for 1980, Apanavičius 1985: 7; for 1985, Astikas 1985: 2.
5. Number of singers in Latvian choirs of 1948, 1950, and 1955 does not include children's choirs, which also participated: In 1948, 5,141; in 1950, 3,571; in 1955, 1,665. Children's choirs did not participate in the later Latvian festivals (Ezeriņš 1977: 70-74). Estonian and Lithuanian numbers include children's choirs.

### APPENDIX III

#### THE FOLKLORE MOVEMENT IN THE BALTIC STATES: AN OUTLINE

##### LITHUANIA

##### LATVIA

##### ESTONIA

#### Growth of public interest in archaic folklore

Late fifties: informal student fieldwork groups at Vilnius University.

1963: Kraštotyra Society founded, university student fieldwork expeditions grow steadily throughout the 1960s.

Mid-late 1960s: Rural ethnographic ensembles founded by folklore fieldworkers.

Mid-1950s: Rural ethnographic ensembles founded by Latvian folklorists.

1959-1960: Purge of Latvian government, academics, and cultural organizations; broken ties between folklorists and public.

1960s: Informal evenings of folk music concerts, Tallinn.

Mid-1960s: Rural ethnographic ensembles founded by folklorists.

#### Beginning and Growth of the Movement

1968: Three folklore ensembles founded in Vilnius: Youth Theater Ensemble, Vilnius University Ensemble, and Sadauja (Sadauja was officially registered in 1969).

1971-1973: Period of suppressed folklore activities. A handful of ensembles remain active.

Early 1970s: First folklore ensemble competitions, gradual growth into festivals.

Late 1960s: Youth movement emerges, but its ties to university faculty or professional folklorists are limited. No youth folklore ensembles founded.

1970: Livonian ensemble Kāndla founded in Ventspils.

1972: Livonian ensemble Līvlist founded in Riga.

1969: Leigarid founded.

1970: Leegajus founded.

Early 1970s: Approximately ten Estonian folklore ensembles are founded.

### Divergence of the Folklore Movements in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia

LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1974: The professional folklore ensemble founded at Rumšiškės Folklife Museum.		1974: <u>Leigarid</u> perform in Moscow, receive negative reviews from USSR Ministry of Culture. The growth of the movement slows down: the existing ensembles remain, but few new ensembles are founded.
Late 1970s: Hundreds of folklore ensembles founded throughout Lithuania, following the example of the officially recognized ensemble at Rumšiškės.	1976: <u>Skandinieki</u> formed by members of <u>Līvlist</u> . The ensemble remains relatively unknown in Riga until about 1979.	

### Growth of the Folklore Movement in Lithuania and Latvia: Convergence of the Baltic Folklore Movement

Frequent tours of leading Baltic ensembles in the Baltic States begin in the mid-seventies.

	1978: Concerts of ethnographic ensembles held in Rīga.	<u>Leegajus</u> visits Vilnius in 1976, Rīga in 1979.
1979: <u>Skamba, skamba kankliai</u> Vilnius Folklore Festival moves into Old Town Vilnius.	1979: <u>Skandinieki</u> begin performing frequently.	
Early 1980s. Mass popularity for folklore ensembles.	1980: "Annual Market" at the Open Air Museum attracts growing numbers of folklore ensembles.	
<u>Skamba, skamba kankliai</u> festival grows to mass proportions.		
1983: Government disapproval of folklore revival announced, but with little practical results.	1983-1984. Harsh repression on folklore ensembles in Latvia. The ensembles which continue to perform gain in popularity as a result.	

Convergence of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Movements, continued

**LITHUANIA**

1985: Folklore ensembles invited to perform at Lithuanian National Song Festival.

1987: First Baltica Folklore Festival; both official and unofficial folklore ensembles perform.

1990: Baltica festival canceled as a result of the Soviet blockade of Lithuania.

**LATVIA**

1985: Anniversary of Krišjānis Barons, a nationwide celebration by folklore ensembles.

1988: After long debates in the Latvian Ministry of Culture, Baltica organizers devote the festival to the "authentic," unofficial folklore ensembles. The festival is turned into a celebration of national culture and independence.

1991. Baltica Festival celebrated shortly before the collapse of the USSR.

**ESTONIA**

1985: CIOFF Assembly in Tallinn, plans are made to create the Baltica Folklore Festival.

1989: Baltica Festival organized on a smaller scale, highlighting the endangered cultures of the Finno-Ugric peoples.

1992. Baltica Festival takes place in independent Estonia.

**THE SIZE OF THE FOLKLORE MOVEMENT:**  
**FOLKLORE ENSEMBLES IN THE BALTIC STATES**

**LITHUANIA**

Numbers are from the unpublished files of the Lithuanian Folk Art Center. These are the "official" statistics collected by the Ministry of Culture. I was warned by the persons who have compiled these statistics in the past that I should assume that the numbers are inflated, perhaps even twice as large as the actual numbers. Cultural organizers had government-assigned "plans" dictating the number of groups and members required each year, and most reports reflect these numbers, not any actual numbers of people. When I asked, for example, about 1981, for which the file had been lost, I was told to "just write in anything you want — That's how it was done all these years, anyway!" The numbers do, however, reflect the actual trend in growth, and the relative size of the Lithuanian movement as compared to those of Latvia and Estonia. It is more likely that the numbers for 1990 and 1991 are close to the actual numbers of ensembles and members, since official "plans" were no longer prescribed from above in those years.

Year	Groups, Lithuania	Members, Lithuania	Groups, Vilnius	Members, Vilnius
1979	579	9,343	10	175
1980	n.a.	n.a.	14	277
1981	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1982	781	12,441	(26)*	(811)*
1983	731	11,822	30	1,102
1984	803	12,767	31	1,124
1985	782	14,306	35	1,659
1986	901	15,120	63	1,370
1987	986	15,762	62	1,249
1988	1,176	20,711	77	1,535
1989	1,468	24,702	59	1,220
1990	1,176	19,421	35	822
1991	919	15,065	34	693

\*Numbers derived from original forms filled out by individual ensemble leaders (a summary form was not included in the 1982 file).

## LATVIA

Numbers compiled by the E. Melngailis Folk Art Center, from three questionnaires sent out to ensemble leaders. For 1982, only a published reference to the original questionnaire is available (see Zemzaris 1987: 42; the questionnaires have been lost). For 1986, I calculated the numbers from the questionnaires filled out by the leaders of the ensembles. The 1988 numbers were published in the Baltica '88 Festival program, p. 66. For 1990, total numbers were calculated by the Latvian Folk Art Center.

Year	Groups, Latvia	Members, Latvia	Groups, Riga	Members, Riga
1982	40	580	n.a.	n.a.
1986	87	1360	9	n.a.
1988	99	n.a.	10	n.a.
1990	225	3,912	9	227

## ESTONIA

Numbers were available at the Estonian Folk Art Center only for the year 1989:

Groups, Estonia	Members, Estonia	Groups, Tallinn	Members, Tallinn
39	1,080	11	480

## CHILDREN'S ENSEMBLES IN THE BALTIC STATES

Vida Belkytė of the Lithuanian Folk Culture Centre compiled statistics about Lithuanian children's ensembles in 1990-1991: There were 158 groups with 2,716 members.

The program of the 1992 children's folklore festival in Latvia, Pulkā eimu, pulkā teku, indicates that there were 62 ensembles with 1,068 members that year.

The Estonian applications for participation in the 1989 Baltica festival (in the files of the Estonian Folk Art Center) included applications from ten children's ensembles with 287 members.

## APPENDIX IV

### RATILIO: MEMBERSHIP, HISTORY, REPERTOIRE

This appendix gives information about the Vilnius University ensemble, Ratilio, as a supplement to Chapter Four. It provides a list of members, 1968-1991, a list of documented concerts 1968-1991, and a brief overview of the group's repertoire.

#### Members of Ratilio: 1968-1991

More than 250 persons have been members of Ratilio since its founding in 1968. The following (incomplete) list of members illustrates several points: First, that the membership of the ensemble was constantly changing, as new students replaced those who graduated from Vilnius University. Second, that at least nineteen couples in the ensemble were married (see discussion of kin relations among ensemble members, Chapter 4). Third, that at least fifteen of the ensemble's members have gone on to lead other Lithuanian folklore ensembles, helping the folklore movement spread and grow.

Sources: Miscellaneous membership lists: 1982-85, 1988-91; questionnaire by present members; list of members written by Ragevičienė in 1968-1969 (AR); list of members recalled by Burkšaitienė in 1991; scattered published references. There were no written sources available regarding the years 1976-1981 or 1986-87; when these years appear or when years appear in parentheses, they are estimates by Zita Kelmickaitė, Stasys Kavaliauskas, and others.

Abbreviations: Lith L&L or LLL= Lithuanian Language and Literature; FE= Folklore Ensemble.

Name	Years	Specialization	Notes
Adomavičiūtė, Gitana	1991-	Lith L&L	
Aizenienė-Kaminskaitė, Loreta	LB(72-73)	Medicine	
Akulavičiūtė, Lina	1985-86	FEF,PP	
Aladavičienė-Laganavičiūtė, Rūta	1983-91	Lith L&L	
Albertavičius, Jonas	LB(71-80)	Lith L&L	
Aleksejevas, Viktoras	1985-89	Veterinarian	
Aleksandravičiūtė, Lina	1983-84	Economy	
Ališauskaitė, Vida	LB(72-79)	Psychology	
Amšiejūtė, Birutė	1982-84	History	
Antanavičiūtė, Janina	LB	Librarian	
Antanelytė, X	LB		
Astrauskienė, Asta	1988-	Medicine	
Atkočiūnaitė, Regina	1988-91	History	
Bagdonavičiūtė, Irma	1989-	Mathematics	
Bakutis, Romualdas	1980-83	History	

Balandis, Henrikas	1982-89	Biology	
Bandžiulytė, Vilmantė	1982-86	English	
(Banionytė, S., see Gervienė)			
(Baršytė, V., see Kavaliauskienė)			
(Bartininkaitė, R., see Landsbergienė)			
Belkytė, Vida	1984-	Librarian	
Beržinis, Dainius	1988-89	Lith L&L	
(Beržinskaitė, A., see Kučinskienė)			
Bikulčiūtė, Danutė	1982-86	Psychology	
Blažiulionytė, Stasė	1982-86	Economy	
Blažytė, Nijolė	1982-86	Economy	
Braškys, Arnoldas	1988-	Mathematics	
Blinstrubas, X	LB		
Braukyla, Audrius	1982-90	English	
(Braubertaitė, Z., see Žuklijienė)			
Brazaitytė, Jurga	1986-	History	
Braženaitė, Jolanta	1988-90	Journalism	
Briedis, Laimonas	1988-	Science	
Brūzga, Audrius	1987-90	English	
Bukantaitė, Jenina	LB(72-81)	Librarian	
Bukantienė-Jakubelskaitė, Janina	1968-72	Lith L&L	
Bukantis, Jonas	1968-71	Lith L&L	Leader of Vilniaus knygu rūmų FE and Ūla.
Burkšaitienė, Nijolė	1978-84	Librarian	
Burkšaitis, Jūragis	1978-84	Artist	
Chlevickaitė, Valda	1968-72	History/LLL	
(Čechanavičiūtė, J., see Šilenskienė)			
Čechatauskaitė, Jurga	1988-89	Journalism	
Čenytė, Daina	1987-91	History	
(Čepaitytė, D., see Žalenienė)			
Čepulis, Alvydas	1983-90	Lith L&L	
Čepulis, Rytis	1984-85	Veterinarian	
Česnauskaitė, Aldona	1968-72	Lith L&L	
Česnienė-Jurgelytė, Jurga	1989-	English	Leads student FE at S. Neris Middle School in Vilnius
Česnys, Vaidotas	1989-	Physics	
Chatkevičius, Artūras	1990	Mathematics	
Čičinaitė, Danutė	1972-76		
Čižiūtė, Lina	1968-72	Lith L&L	
Dabužinskaitė, Zita	1982-87	Biology	
Danisevičiūtė, Meilė	LB	Lith L&L	
Daunytė, Saulė	1982-83	History	



Debesys, Povilas	LB	Geography	Exchange student from South America
Dedelaitė, Rima	1968-72	Lith L&L	
Deveikis, Gintautas	1989-	Accounting	
Deveikis, Vaidotas	1986-	Physics	
Dičiūnaitė, Jolanta	1988-90	Economy	
Dovidonis, Ramūnas			
Dubinskaitė, Jolanta			
Fokas, Antanas	1990-	Musician	Leads <u>Ratilio's</u> Instrumental group; founder of <u>Sutaras</u> folk music group.
Galiauskaitė, Rasa	1988-	Medicine	
Gansinauskaitė, Irena	1968-72	Lith L&L	
Gedraitis, Liudvikas	1969-72		
Gervienė-Banionytė, Stasė (Griciūtė, G., see Plūkienė)	1972-78	French	
Grinytė, Editā	1991-	Economy	
Griškevičius, Darius	1989-	Medicine	
(Gučaitė, I., see Zurbienė)			
Gudaitė, Jūratė	1984-85	Musicology	
Gudalienė-Lankelytė, Liongina	71-78; 81-86; 87-	Lith L&L	
Guobys, Albertas	LB-1980	Biology	
Gurkšnytė, Rasa	1989-	Economy	
Inta, Stasys	1979-84	Mathematics	
Jakimavičius, Aidis	1989-91	Physics	
(Jakubelskaitė, J., see Bukantienė)			
Jankauskas, Giedrius	1988-91	Economy	
Jankeliūnas, Gerdas	1988-91	Economy	
Januševičius, Giedrius	1980-85	Physics	
Jatušis, Dalius	1986-	Medicine	
Jaugaitė, Editā	1990-	English	
(Jauneikaitė, R., see Survilienė)			
Jecenevičius, Rimas	LB	Economy	
Jonaitienė-Lastauskaitė, Asta	1983-90	Lith L&L	
Jonaitis, Dainius	1982-	Geology	
Jonušaitė, Diana	1986-91	Economy	
Jonušas, Kazys	1972-83	Lith L&L	
Jukna, Alfredas	1991-		
(Jurgelytė, J., see Česnienė)			
Jurgutytė, Vitalija	1988-89	Lith L&L	
Jurkaitytė, Rasa	1989-90	Economy	
Juška, Eduardas	1988-91	Mathematics	
Juškienė-Veteikytė, Irena	1968-72	Lith L&L	

Juškevičiūtė, Guoda	1988-	Mathematics	
Kairytė, Liucija	1968-72	Lith L&L	
(Kaminskaitė, L., see Aizenienė)			
Kaminskaitė, Rūta	1973-80	Medicine	
Kaplerytė, Ramunė	1982-90	Lith L&L	Leader of Vilniaus Energetikos instituto FE, 1989-91
Karaška, Arvydas	1978-85		Instrumental group leader
Karkaitė, Laima	1987-89	Mathematics	
Karūnaitė, Asta	1983-85		
Kavaliauskas, Rimas	1984-85	Physics	
Kavaliauskas, Stasys	1968-72	Lith L&L	
Kavaliauskienė-Baršytė, Virginija	1968-72	Lith L&L	
(Kazlauskaitė, A., see Zakarienė)			
Kieras, Vytautas	1987-91	Physics	
Kierienė-Kurkulytė, Giedrė	1988-90	History	
(Kunčinaitytė, D., see Natkevičienė)			
Klova, Algirdas	1983-89	Music	Instrumental group leader; Founder and leader of <u>Vydraga</u> FE
Kontutytė, Eglė	1987-	Russian	
Krinickaitė, Stasė	1972-81	Lith L&L	
Krištopaitytė, Aurelija	1972-79	Medicine	
Krukonienė-Lebedžiūtė, Zita	1970-75	Lith L&L	
Krukonis, Perkūnas	1975-76	Folklore	Exchange student from USA
(Kučinaitytė, D., see Natkevičienė)			
Kučinskienė-Beržinskaitė, Audronė	1983-88	Lith L&L	
Kuliešytė, Stasė	1982-84	Medicine	
Kupčinskas, Aidias	1974-75		
Kupčinskienė-Merkevičiūtė, Gita	1974-75	Folklore	Exchange student from USA; leader of <u>Sodauto</u> FE in Boston, USA
(Kurkulytė, G., see Kierienė)			
(Lagunavičiūtė, R., see Aladavičienė)			
Lapatinskaitė, Marija	1969-72		
Lancevičius, Vytautas	1978-72	Medicine	
Landsbergienė-Bartininkaitė, Ramunė	1984-90	Library Sci	
Landsbergis, Vytautas	1985-91	Lith L&L	Leader of Vilniaus Profsajungų rūmų youth FE, 1981-89
(Lankelytė, L., see Gudelienė)			
Lapkauskaitė, Jolanta	1983-88	Economy	
(Lastauskaitė, A., see Jonaitienė)			

Laurinavičius, Antanas	LB-1980	Mathematics	Leader of Kaunas Polytechnical Institute FE, 1986-88
Laurinavičius, Arvydas	1983-90	Medicine	Leader of a student FE at a Vilnius middle school
Laurinavičius, Dangis	1989-		
(Lebedžiūtė, Z., see Krukonienė)			
Leonavičius, Vylius	1980-86	Psychology	
Liaudonskytė, Asta	1990-	Lith L&L	
Liubertienė-Mataitytė, Irena	LB-1980	Medicine	
Liutkevičiūtė, Rita	1991-	Lith L&L	
Lukoševičiūtė, Rūta	1982-	Biology	
Maciulevičius, Ričardas	1988-90	Medicine	
Mačikenas, Dainius	1991-	Chemistry	
Majauskaitė, Dalia	1980-85	Geography	
Maniušytė, Vilma	1988-89	Chemistry	
Marcinkevičius, A.	1970-71		
Margis, Evaldas	1988-89	Chemistry	
(Mataitytė, I., see Liubertienė)			
Matevičiūtė, Genovaitė	1984-88	Lith L&L	Leader of youth FE, Technical School in Vilnius
Matulionienė-Rudytė, Egida	1982-90	Lith L&L	
Matulionis, Raimondas	1984-90	Medicine	
Medeišytė, Velma	1984-85	Medicine	
Medelienė, X			
Medelis, Linas	LB	Journalism	
Mejeras, Marius	1989-90	Medicine	
(Merkevičiūtė, G., see Kupčinskienė)			
Mieldažytė, Rida	1990-	Lith L&L	
(Mikšytė, A., see Slotkienė)			
Mikolaitytė, Vita	1988-89	Lith L&L	
Milašius, Romas	LB	Choir Leading	
Mitraitė, Eglė	1985-88	Medicine	
(Morkūnaitė, L., see Pečkevienė)			
Morozas, Raimondas	1983-87	Geology	
Mozūraitė, Jolanta	1983-84	Economy	
Musnickaitė, Rima	1981-86	Lith L&L	
Natkevičienė-Kunčinė, Daiva	1982-86	Psychology	
Natkevičius, Giedrius	1981-85	Lith L&L	
Navikaitė, Nijolė	1972-89	Mathematics	
Navinskaitė, Gintautė	1989-90	History	
Neniškis, Arvydas	1981-83		
Nesterovaitė, Elena	1991-	Medicine	
Niuniavaitė, Ilona	1983-89	Librarian	

(Norkūnaitė, D., see Valiaugienė)		
Paburskytė, Živilė	1988-89	Lith L&L
Palšauskaitė, Zita	1982-84	Lith L&L
Panavaitė, Dalia	1982-86	Chemistry
Paulauskaitė, Zita	1982-84	Economy
(Pancerytė, I., see Žitkauskienė)		
Pečkevienė-Morkūnaitė, Laima	1971-LB	Lith L&L
Petronis, Robertas	1988-89	History
Petrulytė, Rita	1989-	Geography
Pipinytė, Audronė	1982-87	Medicine
Plūkienė-Griciūtė, Gilma		
Plūkis, Stasys	1982-87	German L&L
Poviliūnaitė, Eglė	1981-85	Economy
Pranskūnaitė, Vilma	1988-90	Medicine
Radomskytė, Margarita	1988-89	Russian L&L
	1989-90	Lith L&L
Radzevičiūtė, Ona	1984-90	Librarian
Rakauskas, Kęstutis	LB	Law
Ručinskaitė, Irena	1980-84	Lith L&L
Ručys, Ringaudas	1988-89	
(Rudytė, E., see Matulionienė)		
Rudžianskaitė, Angelė	1973-74	Biology
Sadauskas, Tomas	1991-	Chemistry
Samulionis, Rimvydas	1988-90	Medicine
Savickaitė, Elvyra	1983-86	Bibliography
Simėnas, Dalius	1990-	English L&L
Sirvydis, Dalius	1986-87;89-	Lith L&L
Skvireckaitė, Rima	1984-90	Mathematics
Sliužinskas, Rimas	1977-81	Ethnomusicology
		Leader of student FE, Lithuanian Conservatory in Klaipėda
Slotkienė-Mikšytė, Audra	1970-79?	Lith L&L
Slotkus, Vytas	LB-1978?	Physics
Snabaitytė, Onutė	1968-72	Lith L&L
Spielskaitė, Birutė	1968-72	Lith L&L
Stanevičius, Šarūnas	1988-	Medicine
Stankevičiūtė, Sigita	1980-84	Lith L&L
Stasaitis, Deimontas	LB	Mathematics
Stasevičius, Rimas	1988-89	Physics
(Statkūtė, R., see Vildžiūnienė)		
Steponavičius, Saulius	1982-90	Physics
Stirbytė, Rasa	1988-89	Lith L&L
Stolvaišis, X	LB	

Stomaitė, Audronė	1968-72	Lith L&L
Stramilitė, Stasė	1968-72	Lith L&L
Strupas, Alfredas	LB	
Stukėnas, Nerijus	1982-87	Law
Stumbras, Vidmantas	1988-89	Mathematics
Survila, Algirdas	1983-90	Economy
Survilienė-Jauneikaitė, Roma	1989-91	Economy
Survilaitė, Dovilė	1989-	Economy
Šalučkaitė, Liucija	1968-72	Lith L&L
Šaparavičiūtė, Vida	1982-86	Economy
Šatas, Linas	1988-90	Medicine
(Šatkauskaitė, B., see Žemgulienė)		
Šatkauskas, Artūras	1983-90	Medicine
Šilenskienė-Čechanavičiūtė, Jolanta	1988-90	Lith L&L
Šilenskis, Darius	1985-90	Economy
Šilinytė, Gražina	1982-87	History
Šlaustaitė, Daiva	1991-	Mathematics
Šleikutė, Asta	1985-90	Medicine
Šturkaitė, ...eta	1968-72	Lith L&L
Šulskutė, Dalia	1983-90	History
Tamošiūnas, Viktoras	1982-86	Lith L&L
Tamutytė, Jurgita	1991-	Architecture
Taujanskaitė, Irma	1983-84	English L&L
Tomkevičiūtė, Aušra	1985-91	Lith L&L
Tomkus, Rolandas	1988-90	Medicine
Truncienė, Romualda	1976-	Lith L&L
Truskauskaitė, Kristina	1968-70	
Tunaitytė, Regina	1989-90	Lith L&L
Umbrazas, Vytenis	1988-89	
Usanovas, Eduardas	1988-89	Mathematics
Utakytė, Lilija	1983-87	Psychology
Užpalytė, Rima	1977-85	
Vaitkutė, Rima	1984-90	Medicine
Valenčiūtė, Rolanda	1987-	
Valiaugienė-Norkūnaitė, Danutė	1982-84	Librarian
Valiukinas, Velmantas	1982-83	Medicine
Valuckaitė, Jolanta	1981-85	Psychology
Vedrickaitė, Irena	1986-90	Lith L&L
Veikutytė, Laisvūnė	1984-89	Lith L&L
Vervečkaitė, Aldona	1982-87	

(Veteikytė, I., see Juškienė) Vildžiūnienė-Statkūtė, Rūta	LB-1979	Musicology	Leader of Klaipėda Conservatory Art School student FE
Vinslovas, Vytautas	1982-84	Art	
Višniauskaitė, Eugenija	LB	Medicine	
Vitkauskaitė, Jolanta	1982-84	English L&L	
Volskytė, Aurelija	LB-1979	Musicology	
Zakaras, Arvydas	1980-84	Physics	
Zakarienė-Kazlauskaitė, Audronė	1972-85	Mathematics	
Zakaravičius, Mindaugas	1988-90	Medicine	
Zenkevičiūtė, Jūratė	1984-85	Lith L&L	
Zulonas, A.	1970-71		
Zurba, Mantas	1988-90		
Zurbienė, Ieva	1988-90		
Žalenienė-Čepaitytė, Daiva	LB-1980	German L&L	
Žemaitis, Laimutis	1988-	Geology	
Žemaitis, Virginijus	1985-	Physics	
Žemgulienė-Šatkauskaitė, Birutė	1968-72	Lith L&L	
Žydrūnas, Burvys	1991-	Economy	
Žinytė, Diana	1985-90	Medicine	
Žitkauskas, Regimantas	1983-90	Medicine	
Žitkauskienė-Pancerytė, Ingrida	1987-90	Medicine	
Žuklija, Rimvydas	1968-72	Lith L&L	
Žuklijienė-Braubertaitė, Zina	1968-72	Lith L&L	
Žurauskaitė, Ramunė	1986-90	Chemistry	
X, Roaldas	LB		
X, Vida	LB		

### Ratilio, Performances, 1968-1992

This incomplete list of performances gives a general overview of the kinds of occasions at which Ratilio has performed since 1968. It was not possible to compile a more complete list of concerts such as the one compiled for Leegajus (Appendix V). Only the records of the first years, from the personal archive of Aldona Ragevičienė, give an idea of the intensity of the group's performance schedule. Zita Kelmickaitė remembers that at the height of the folklore movement in the late 1980s, the group had more than 50 concerts per year.

Sources of information: Publications, indicated by square brackets []; interviews with Aldona Ragevičienė, Laima Burkšaitienė, and Zita Kelmickaitė, and materials from these three leaders' and Liongina Gudeliienė's personal archives; printed programs of Skamba, skamba kankliai folklore festivals, 1981-1989.

Abbreviations: VU=Vilnius University; Kt=Kraštotyrininkai (Local Heritage Society); LR=Lithuanian Radio; LTV= Lithuanian Television; SSK= Skamba, skamba kankliai annual folklore festival in Vilnius.

#### 1968-1969

Leader (1968-1972): Aldona Ragevičienė.

List of group members at this time includes 23 students.

Summer of 1968: Student folklore expedition [Narmontas 1968].

Performances: April 1968 (VU, "Kalendorinės pavasario dainos") [possible reference in Dargūnas 1968]; Dec 11 (VU, for the Computing Machine Factory); Dec 21-22 (VU, premiere, «Kalendoriniai žiemos papročiai ir apeigos») [Pocius 1968, Baublienė 1969, Jacinevičius 1968]; Dec 26 (Vilnius, Lithuanian Conservatory Komsomol meeting, 50 min); Jan 7 (VU, Republic Librarians' conference); Jan 8 (Vilnius, Finance Ministry); May (VU, premiere, «Prieš vestuves — po vestuvių») [Burkšaitienė 1969, Grebliūnaitė 1969].

Recording Sessions: Dec 26 (LTV, broadcast 18 Jan 1969); Dec 26 (LR, broadcast 12 Jan 1969).

#### 1969-1970

Performances: Oct 18 (Merkinė Middle School, concert and visit to grave of parents of Vincas Krevė-Mickevičius) [Daugelaitė 1969]; Oct 25 (Vilnius Middle School #22); Nov 17 (Vilnius, Computing Machine Factory); Nov 22 (Nievarėnai Culture Hall); Nov 23 (Telšiai, People's Theater); Nov 26 (VU, Kt); Jan 11 (Prison colony); Feb 14-15 (Kalvarija and Kapsukas, three concerts); Feb 27 (Vilnius, Komsomol 16th Convention); Mar 7 (Kapsukas, S. Neries Kolkhoz); Mar 15 (Vilnius city ensemble overview concert); Mar 27 (Anykščiai, Kt Conference); Apr 4 (VU, song and dance evening); Apr 11 (Klaipėda, with students from Conservatory and from Kaunas).

### 1970-1971

**Performances:** Sep 23 (Vilnius, Exhibit Hall, for Art Museum employees); Oct 17 (VU, Tadzhik poets' delegation); Nov 27 (Vilnius Middle School #16, Kt); Nov 28 (Vilnius, for Cultural Education Institute and Vilnius Middle School #23 students); Dec 19 (Folk song evening); Dec 22 (Elektrėnai); Jan 7 (for teachers/Kt); Feb 21 (Gervėčiai); Mar 17 («Alkai» and Kt); Mar 20 (VU, premiere, «Kur eisi — save rasi») [Janušytė 1971, Skrodenis 1971, Geras įvertinimas 1971]; Mar 27-28 (Švenčionys, four concerts); Apr 1 (Vilnius, Čiurlionis Art School); Apr 4 (Vilnius); Apr 7 (Memorial for poet J. Janonis); Apr 17-18 (Molėtai, for cultural leaders); Apr 25 (Vilnius [Mažeikis and Taraila 1971]).

**Recording Sessions:** Oct 9 (LTV, «Rugys parejo»)

**June:** Mention of Ragevičienė tape recording songs from an elderly singer [Braziūnas 1971].

### 1971-1972

**Performances:** Oct 30 (Middle School); Nov 4; Dec 7 (farewell evening for ambassadors); Mar 5 («Alkas»); Mar 8 (VU (premiere, «Turgus prasidėjo» [Končiūtė 1972]; Mar 16 (Ensemble overview concert); Mar/Apr? 22 (VU, for parents of ensemble members); May 13-14 (Pakruojis, Language Days); May 20; May 22 (Ministry of Education); May 26 (Vilnius, Soldiers' Society).

**Recording Sessions:** Oct 17 (LTV); Mar 15 (LTV).

### 1972-1973

**(Spring):** Temporary Leader, Gražyna Gražytė.

**Performances:** Feb 24 («Atžalynas» Kolkhoz, Panevėžys District) [Krinickaitė 1973].

**Recording Sessions:** Spring (LR).

### 1973-1974

**New Leader:** Laima Burkšaitienė [See Noreikaitė 1974].

**Performances:** Apr 27 (VU (premiere, «Viešė») [Noreikaitė 1974, Krištopaitė 1974, Skrodenis 1975]; date unknown (Vilnius, Conference of Baltic Musicologists).

### 1974-1975

**Performances:** May 24 (VU, premiere, «Lietuva — Dainų kraštas») [Karaška 1975, Braziūnas 1976].

**Recording Sessions:** Soviet Central Television («Nemuno krašto dainos»).



#### 1975-1976

[Article about the ensemble, Medelis 1976]

Performances: Nov 22 (VU, repeat of «Lietuva — Dainų kraštas»); date unknown (Nida, folk song and dance leaders seminar); date unknown (VU, premiere, «Lietuvių liaudies baladės»); spring (Baltic concert with Estonians, Latvians, possibly Belarusians, Kalnų Park).

#### 1976-1977

New Leader: Zita Kelmickaitė (October 1977-present)

Performances: Dec 9 (Vilnius, Library Conference Hall, repeat of «Lietuva — Dainų kraštas», with lecture by Pranė Jokimaitienė); May (VU (premiere, «Paukščiai lietuvių tautosakoje» [Krištopaitė 1977].

#### 1977-1978

Performances: Apr 29 (VU, premiere, «Supkit, meskit mani jaunų») [Albertavičius 1978, Vyšniauskaitė 1978].

#### 1978-1979

Instrumental group founded, Leader Arvydas Karaška (1978-1984).

#### 1979-1980

Performances: Autumn (VU, premiere, «Darbo tautosaka») [Radvilas 1979, Vėlius and Grigas 1979]; Aug 13-14 (Rumšiškės, «Ant marių krantelio» festival) [Burkšaitienė 1980].

The group is selected as best Lithuanian folklore ensemble in 1980 [Burkšaitienė 1980]

#### 1980-1981

Performances: May 23 (VU, SSK) [photo, Literatūra ir Menas 23 May 1991: 1].

#### 1981-1982

Performances: autumn (VU, premiere, «Bekie, žirgeli»); spring (Vilnius, Šarbijevius Courtyard, SSK, with Skandinavieki and Leningrad Conservatory Folklore Ensemble).

Performances outside of Lithuania: Oct 30 (Rīga, Folklore Days/Jurjāns 125-year anniversary).

#### 1982-1983

Performances: autumn (Vilnius, premiere, «Dzūkų—Žemaičių dainos»); Jun 11 (Vilnius, by Donelaitis Monument, SSK, with Joensuu dance group from Finland).

LP Record: Lietuva — Dainų kraštas (Melodiia, C30-14721-2); reprint 1988.

#### 1983-1984

55 members on membership list.

Performances: autumn (Vilnius, 15-year anniversary concert, premiere, «Atažoja svoteliai» [Daraškevičius 1983]; spring (Rumšiškės, «Žiemos palydų šventė»); May 24-27 Vilnius, SSK: May 24 (Alumnatas Courtyard, with Georgian folklore ensemble Mtiebi and Computing Machine Factory Ensemble); May 27 (Alumnatas Courtyard, with Mtiebi).

#### 1984-1985

[Article about ensemble, Krikščiūnas 1984].

Money for new folk clothes granted to the ensemble.

New Instrumental Group Leader: Marius Šnaras (1984-1985).

Performances: June 6-9 Vilnius, SSK: Jun 6 (two concerts, one with Veronika Povilionienė, «War Songs», the other in Alumnatas Courtyard, «Wedding Traditions»); Jun 9 (Alumnatas Courtyard, with Inkaklių Village Ethnographic Ensemble and Georgian Folklore Ensemble) [Lapė 1985, photo in Vakarinės Naujienos 8 June 1985: 1]; Summer (Lithuanian National Song Festival).

Performances outside of Lithuania: Summer (Moscow, XII Youth Festival) [Semionova 1985]; date unknown (concert tour to Poland).

#### 1985-1986

[Articles about the ensemble: Braziūnas 1986, TASS-ELTA 1986, Gali papriekaištaut 1986].

New Instrumental Group Leader: Algirdas Klova (1985-1988).

Performances in Lithuania: Feb 28 (VU, premiere, «Romansų vakaras») [Čepaitytė 1986]; the group does not appear in the SSK program in 1986.

Performances outside of Lithuania: Jul 19-28 (France) [Landsbergis Jr. 1986].

#### 1986-1987

Performances: date unknown (Kaunas, with Veronika Povilionienė); May 31 (Vilnius, VU Library Courtyard, SSK); July (Baltica 87 Folklore Festival. LTV video from the festival includes a concert in the VU Courtyard, with performances by E.Vyčinas's ensemble, Skandinavieki, the Breton folklore ensemble from France, and Ratilio performing together with Veronika Povilionienė).

[Group expedition described by Augutytė 1987].

LP Record: Vilniaus universiteto folkloro ansamblis RATILIO (Melodiia, C30-25851-009) ©1987, reprint 1990 [Tolcikas 1988].

#### **1987-1988**

[Articles about the ensemble: Vėlius 1988, Landsbergis 1988, Landsbergis and Kelmickaitė 1988].

Performances in Lithuania: (VRM Kultūros ir sporto rūmai, 20-year anniversary concert); May 29 (Vilnius, Alumnatas Courtyard, SSK, with Radziškis Village Ethnographic Ensemble).

Performances outside of Lithuania: Jul 10-17 (Latvia, Baltica 88 Folklore Festival); Switzerland.

#### **1988-1989**

New Instrumental Group Leader: Antanas Fokas (1988-present).

Performances in Lithuania: May (Vilnius, SSK, instrumental sutartinės, concert not listed in festival program).

Performances outside of Lithuania: USA [Bradūnaitė-Aglinksienė 1989].

#### **1989-1990**

Performances in Lithuania: May (Vilnius, SSK, Concert featuring materials collected during Semeliškiai expedition).

Performances outside of Lithuania: Germany and Switzerland.

#### **1990-1991**

78 members in membership list.

Performances outside of Lithuania: Sweden.

Published Cassette Tape: The Folk Company of Vilnius University RATILIO (Stereo, no publisher or place indicated).

## 1991-1992

I attended most of the events listed below during my stay in Lithuania, September 9 to December 8, 1991, and May 11 to June 1, 1992.

59 members on membership list.

Rehearsals: Sep 16, 18, 23, 25, 26 (two rehearsals), 30; Oct 2, 7, 9, 14, 16, 23, 28, 30; Nov 4, 6, 11, 13, 18, 20, 25, 27; Dec 2; May 11, 13, 18, 20, 25.

Performances in Lithuania: Sep 1 (Vilnius, Independence celebration on Song Festival Stage, performance with Leegajus and Skandiniekj; Sep 19 (VU, Concert for delegation of historians from Ukraine); Sep 22 (performance at home for the mentally retarded, Vilnius); Sep 28 (Vilnius, Gediminas Festival, several songs performed with other groups at readings from Gediminas Letters); Oct 4 (VU, Concert for Baltic Linguistics Conference); Oct 14 (several ensemble members participate in the *mergvakaras*, a women's celebration for a bride-to be); Oct 19 (ensemble sings at wedding of two members, Roma and Algis Survila); Oct 21 (celebration of Zita Kelmickaitė's birthday at her apartment); May 18 (VU, concert for Finnish visitors); May 23 (Kaunas folklore festival, concert of sutartinės); May 26-31— Vilnius, SSK: May 26 (ten-minute concert for foreign ambassadors, with nine other ensembles); May 27 (beer and song evening with visiting ensembles); May 28 (Alumnatas Courtyard, "My Favorite Song"); May 31 (two concerts: Old Town Vilnius, Sarbijeviskus Courtyard, and SSK closing concert, Kalnų Park).

### Ratilio: Repertoire

A description of one of Ratilio's first performances was quoted on page 121. Quoted below are newspaper reports of later concerts which show the expanding breadth of the group's repertoire over the years. In the first years, songs and other folklore materials appear to have come mostly from the five-volume publication edited by Korsakas (1962-1968). The collection of sutartinės edited by Slaviūnas became a frequently used source in the early seventies, when these unique songs became a core of the ensemble's repertoire. Other books were also used, but, beginning under the leadership of Laima Burkšaitienė, unpublished field recordings were the main source of songs that the group performed. After Zita Kelmickaitė assumed leadership, the group members went on fieldwork expeditions, and songs collected by the group itself made up a large part of the performance repertoire. The progression from published books to archival materials to fieldwork expeditions appears in the four articles quoted below.

Several songs appended below illustrate some of the favorite kinds of songs in the ensemble's repertoire. Love songs seem to be the most popular. The group sang "Ait muotuši," quoted in Chapter One, more than a few times; "Pragyda gyda" was sung by the men at several concerts I attended and appears also on the group's newest cassette. The group seemed to like a song from Džukija, "Oi an cילו," which they sang often at rehearsals in autumn of 1991, but never performed on stage. "Devyni metai," a song which several past members remembered as a core song in the ensemble's repertoire as well as in the history of the Lithuanian folklore movement, is no longer a favorite (after I had asked about the song, Kelmickaitė once told the group to sing it, but the song broke up in giggles because nobody remembered it). A war song, "Augin tėvas du sūneliu" was a favorite of the men, together with "Oi lunkela," quoted in Chapter One. The group members all knew "Kur mūsų tėveliai gėrė," a song of memorial for the dead, and sang it on All Souls Day. As I was leaving Vilnius in December of 1991, Ratilio had begun to prepare a Christmas program with many archaic game-songs as well as Christian songs (for example, "Užgiedokime linksmai"), which Kelmickaitė had taught the group after the collapse of Soviet censorship.

### Performance. April 1974

Soon after Laima Burkšaitienė became leader of the ensemble, her experience in the study of Lithuanian folk songs had a profound effect on the group's repertoire. A brief report about "Viešės," included a list of songs which gave a broad overview of regional (Aukštaitija, Žemaitija, Dzūkija) and stylistic (antiphonic, poliphonic, unison, many-voiced homophony) traditions of song melodies:

The many-voiced homophonic songs and *sutartinės* of Aukštaitija were prevalent in this concert. Many of them had a markedly authentic sound, and the singers sang together well. ("Už jūrių marelių, "Oi tu klevai klevai, " "Išėja senelis iškiūtina" — led by A. Mikšytė; Žaliam berži gegute kukava" — led by I. Mataitytė, and the *sutartinė* game "Anušia dukra"). The singing style of Žemaitija was demonstrated by "Eisiu į kalną" and "Einu per kiemą." The former was one of the most beautiful pieces in the concert: A. Rudžianskaitė, who led the song, very distinctly and subtly conveyed the traditional singing style of the old singers. In general, the ensemble's program would benefit from a few more songs of Žemaitija.

The Eastern Dzūkija songs, "Oi, kur genelis tupėjo, " Tamsioj girelaj kelalis aina, " and "Tu vanagėli, " were unexpectedly lively. For some reason, these songs are not sung very frequently by folk song performers. Western Dzūkija songs were sung very sensitively by P. Debesys ("Oi, kad aš gertau") and V. Balčiūnaitė ("Oi, toli toli").

The ensemble's program was made lively by traditional games from various ethnographic regions: "Paukštelio perinimas" (Žemaitija), "Gelažiniai varteliai" (Aukštaitija), "Voverėlė" (West Dzūkija), by inventive polkas, and by the legend about the demons of Imbarė, narrated in Žemaitija dialect by K. Jonušas.

The audience was charmed not only by the lively singing of the ensemble and its individual members, their youthful sincerity and enthusiasm, but also by the carefully chosen, original repertoire (a large part of the songs came from the archives of the LSSR State Conservatory Folk Music Faculty) [Krištopaitė 1974].

### Performance. 1975

"Lithuania— Land of Songs" was the title of a highly acclaimed program prepared in 1975 by Laima Burkšaitienė. The group later published an LP record by the same title, but not with the same songs. A review of the concert listed some of the main songs appearing in this program, which was divided into three parts:

1. "The steed returns" ("Parbieg žirgelis") Historical songs, war songs and songs of the recruits, from the Žemaitija district. "Lietuvos broliai į vainą jojo, " Mes trys broleliai žaliojoj lankoj, " "Mano brolelis valelėj augo, " and others.
2. "In a foreign land" ("Svecimon šalen") — Wedding songs from Dzūkija. "Oi ko liūdi, martela, " Ko nuliūdai, berneli, " "Oi tu sakal, sakale, " "Mes šituos broliukus gerai pažistam, " "Namo, svotai, " and folk dances: "Šukčius, " "Marčios šokdinimas, " "Kadrilis" (these dances were recorded recently from an old, but still quite agile Dzūkas).
3. "From spring until autumn" ("Na pavasaria ligi rudenia") — Calendrical and work (from Shrovetide to the flax harvest) songs from Aukštaitija. The reviewer calls this part the culmination of the entire concert. "Monophonic, many-voiced homophonic and polyphonic musical genres were demonstrated, each in its unique style and manner of performance. One must note the poetic, musically and dramatically impressive cycle of herders' songs and calls (piemenų dainų, ridavimų, raliavimų, šūkinių), which was performed with attention to subtleties by the new members of the ensemble. The performance of *sutartinės* was memorable...."

This portion of the program included "Kukol rožė, ratilio, " "Trepute martela, " "Aisme sesios dauno, " and others.

"The ensemble members readily sang, danced and narrated, with youthful enthusiasm, smoothly conveying the artistic whole and mood, the unique ethnographic characteristics of

sound, movement and pronunciation. In the folk style, with rich, unstaged voices (It is apparent that more than a few of those thirty persons only recently made their native farmstead ring out with song)... [Karaška 1975: 74].

#### Performance, November 17, 1979

"Folklore of Work" featured Ratilio's newly founded instrumental group playing instruments borrowed from museums or collected on fieldwork expeditions. A newspaper report lists some of the songs performed. Sutartinės, a core part of the group's performances in the past, apparently were not always embraced by audiences, as noted by the reviewer (see also Vėlius 1979):

Polyphonically and resonantly, with "unpolished" village voices, with a full-chested sound, modern-day young men and women sang songs, each more beautiful than the first, songs which most of the audience had never before heard.... From Aukštaitija, "Gieda gaideliai, ryliuoja," "Avižėla," "Valioj dalgeli," From Dzūkija "Bėga vilkas per barų," "Dai kuris laukas skumba," from Žemaitija "Tekėk, mergele"....

The archaic Lithuanian sutartinės also sounded harmoniously (the three-part work song "Trys keturios" in particular). But the reaction of the public as it listened to this type of songs, as usually, was more reserved than when it listened to simpler songs. It is interesting to know why. Even more so because the performers sang them particularly sincerely, as if "from within," and not as a demonstration of their originality (look at us, we have learned songs sung in the primitive community, they have disappeared from use already a century, listen to how unusual they are, how strange they sound, and so on).

Of course, it is not easy for a modern listener to feel the unival sound and beauty of the sutartinė, hearing the dissonance of parallel seconds, listening to to seemingly meaningless refrain words such as laduto, minagaučio, čiūto, sedaučio and so on, hearing a "wrinkled" text. (By the way, more than a few country singers have said that sutartinės are "not pretty.") So we encounter a paradox: As we attempt to understand and evaluate art created before the emergence of class society, the 20th century listener must have musical or even philological education [Radvilas 1979].

#### Performance, Autumn 1983

"The Matchmakers Arrive," a celebration of wedding traditions in various regions of Lithuania, was performed on the ensemble's fifteen-year anniversary. The author of a newspaper article reviewed the contributions of past and present leaders, and described the concert, noting that the audience also played an important role.

The ensemble's members and leaders change, and the group's traditions continue to become richer. Each of the three leaders of the ensemble gave it different values which are still maintained in today's "Ratilio." A. Ragevičienė's faithfulness to the folksong and custom, a search for a deep meaning in folklore; L. Burkšaitienė's requirement that the group be in living contact with rural carriers of folklore, skill at a subtle understanding of the folksong; the present day leader Z. Kelmickaitė's youthful energy, good musical taste, spontaneity.

The basic idea of this new program is to show the variety and unique qualities of dances, songs and customs from all of the ethnographic regions of Lithuania. The concert opening showed that this would not be an attempt to carry the audience into the distant past and show them "authentic pictures." In Ratilio's program, the old customs, songs and dances are brought over into the present day, showing their dynamism, dependence on the context, even tying them to modern traditions.

The beginning of the concert featured characteristic love songs of Žemaitija and narratives about the Žemaitija regional character. In the Dzūkija portion — customs of the mergvakaras (pre-wedding women's ceremony), a moving lament of the bride. The songs were monophonic, subtle. The "Aukštaitija" people performed sutartinės of courtship, showed the characteristic game played during the mergvakaras, "Uošvela judabra," the meeting of the

young couple, the humorous traditions of meeting the courtiers, the purchase of the "orchard," the sparring with songs.

The folklore of Suvalkija appeared for the first time in a Ratilio performance—wedding songs, dances and customs. The audience particularly liked the "liberation of the bench" from the false suitors.

What would a wedding be without a feast! All of the performers gathered for it. Even the audience got to taste the bride's cake.

It seemed that the Ratilio concert stage was populated by village youth, for whom the customs, the appropriate dialect and manner were an everyday phenomenon. But many of the ensemble's members are city dwellers! It seems that they learned this art not only at rehearsals, but also on folklore expeditions. By the way, many of the pieces performed in this new program came onto the stage from the Salantų, Švėkšnos, Liškiavos, Ignalinos and Kalvarijos districts [Daraškevičius 1983a].



### Love Songs. Wedding Songs

As remembered by its first leader, Aldona Ragevičienė, the Vilnius university ensemble was born during a train trip from Vilnius to Tartu, when she overheard Veronika Jaunulevičiūtė and some of the women in her choir singing "Devyni metai." "It was so unexpected and very good to hear them sing an authentic folksong. And when the girls fell silent, I began to think, 'Why are we ashamed of our true, old folksongs, why do we sing them so rarely and shyly?' [Medelis 1976]. The text translated below comes from a recording of the song by Veronika Jaunulevičiūtė-Povilionienė and the ensemble *Blezdinga*.

Devyni metai, ne viena diena,  
Kai nebuvo darželys,  
Kai nebuvo darželis.

Nine years passed, not a day,  
Since I had been in the garden,  
Since I had been in the garden.

Užaugo mano žalios rūtelės  
Pinkiom šešiom šakelėm (2 k.)

My green rue grew tall,  
With five and six branches.

Un tų šakelių, un tų žaliųjų  
Atskrida gegutytė (2 k.)

On those branches, on the green branches  
A cuckoo bird flew down.

Kūkavo ryto ir vakarėli  
Ir vidury naktelės (2 k.)

It cuckooed in the morning and in the evening,  
And in the middle of the night.

Tol jin kūkavo, kol iškūkavo  
Iš močiutės dukrele,  
Iš tėvulio dukrą.

It cuckooed until it cuckooed away  
Mother's daughter,  
Father's daughter.

Matuti mano, širdeli mano,  
Kuom aš tavi lankysiu (2 k.)

Dear mother,  
How will I visit you?

Žiemu važeliais aukštais kalneliais  
Pavasari laiveliais (2 k.)

In the winter, with a sleigh over the high hills,  
In the spring, with boats.

"Pragyda gyda" has been sung by the ensemble for many years. They performed it at the 1987 Baltica festival in Vilnius (I saw a videotape of the concert) and in the 19 September 1991 concert at the university. It also appears on their newest cassette tape.

Pragyda gyda ramūs gaideliai—  
Ar negirdėjai gaidelių giedant?

The calm roosters are singing—  
Didn't you hear the roosters singing?

Girdėt girdėjau, labai nespėjau  
Laukia kardelia nuo tetušelio

I heard them, but I couldn't  
I was waiting for a sound from father's.

Tur tetušelis tris sūnaitėlius  
Išlaidė laidė sadų sadinti.

There, father sent out three sons  
To plant an orchard.

Nuo pakraštelių vyšnias sodina  
Par vidurėlį abelėlas

Around the edges, they plant cherries,  
In the middle, apple trees.

Kad tik bus giedrias vasaras dienas  
Tai gražiai žydės brolių sadelis

Pragyda gyda ramūs gaideliai—  
Ar negirdėjai gaidelių giedant?

Girdėt girdėjau, labai nespėjau  
Laukiau kardelia nuo matinėlas

Tur matinėla tris dukružėlas  
Išlaidė laidė daržų sadinti.

Nuo pakraštelių rūtas sodina  
Par vidurėlį lėlijėlas.

Kad tik bus giedrias vasaras dienas  
Tai gražiai žydės sesių darželis.

If only the summer days will be clear,  
Then brothers' orchard will bloom beautifully.

The calm roosters are singing—  
Didn't you hear the roosters singing?

I heard them, but I couldn't  
I was waiting for a sound from mother's.

There, mother sent out three daughters  
To plant a garden.

Around the edges, they plant rue,  
In the middle, lilies.

If only the summer days will be clear,  
Then sisters' garden will bloom beautifully.

"Oi an cילו" was taught to the ensemble at rehearsals in September of 1991 by Gitana Adamavičiūtė, who had learned it while singing in her middle school ensemble. Ratilio sang it often at rehearsals, but I never saw it performed in public.

Oi an cילו  
oi an cילו an ciltelio  
Stovi žirgas pabalnotas (2X)

Prie žirgelio stov bernelis  
Turi rankoj pavadelas

Prie bernelio stov mergelė  
Turi rankoj paduškėlį

Oi berneli dobileli  
Kur tu josi ten aš aisiu

Oi mergele lėlijėle  
Silpnas mano juodbėrelis

Silpnas mano juodbėrelis  
Nepaneš mudviej raitelių

Oi berneli dobilėli  
Per girelį raici josim

Per girelį raici josim  
Per laukelį pesci aisim

Per laukelį pesci aisim  
Per marelas plaukci plauksim

Oh, on a bridge, Oh on a bridge  
Stands a saddled steed  
[repetitions not marked below]

By the steed stands a young man  
Holding the bridle in his hand

By the young man stands a maiden  
Holding a pillow in her hand

O young man  
Where you ride, I will go

O maiden  
My bay horse is weak

My bay horse is weak  
And won't carry the two of us

Oh, young man,  
Through the forest we'll ride

Through the forest we'll ride  
Across the field we'll walk

Across the field we'll walk  
Across the sea we'll swim

Ir daplaukim akmėnėli  
Klok mergele patalėli  
Baltų pūkų paduškėli

Oi dievuliau mano mielas  
Pagailėjo man motutė  
Balto beržo nukirs rykštės  
Naraveli išvaryti  
Razumelio išmokyti

And we'll swim up to a stone  
Spread out the sheets, maiden  
The white down pillow

Oh my dear god  
My mother spared me  
From cutting a white birch switch (for whipping)  
....  
To teach me common sense

"Šali keli karčiameli," described on page 56, footnote 38. The woman who led this song later wrote out the words for me.

Šali keii karčiameli o-joj  
Toj karčiamoj šinkorkeli o-jo-joj

Ir atjuoja trys berneliai o-joj  
Ir atjuoja ir sustuoja o-jo-joj

Veinas pirka alutėli o-joj  
Antras pirka arielkėli o-jo-joj

Trečias pirka saldi vyną o-joj  
Trečias pirka saldi vyną o-jo-joj

Katras gierė alutėli o-joj  
Tas pragierė kepureli o-jo-joj

Katras gierė arielkėli o-joj  
Tas pragierė jodbiereli o-jo-joj

Katras gierė saldu vyną o-joj  
Tas pragierė savo mylą o-jo-joj

Kur pragierė kepureli o-joj  
Tas išejo švilpaudamas o-jo-joj

Kur pragierė jodbiereli o-joj  
Tas išejo dainiodamas o-jo-joj

Kur pragierė savo mylą o-joj  
Tas išejo gaudia verkdamas o-jo-joj

By the road stands a tavern,  
In that tavern is a barmaid.

And three young men ride up  
and they ride up and stop.

The first bought beer,  
The second bought liquor,

The third bought sweet wine.  
The third bought sweet wine.

The one who drank beer  
Drank away his cap;

The one who drank liquor  
Drank away his horse;

The one who drank sweet wine  
Drank away his beloved.

The one who drank away his cap  
He walked out whistling;

The one who drank away his horse  
He walked out singing;

The one who drank away his beloved  
He walked out crying bitterly.

### War Song

"Oi lunkela," quoted in Chapter One, was a favorite of the men in Ratilio. "Augin tėvas," another war song recorded by the ensemble members themselves, was performed many times in autumn 1991 and spring 1992. I copied this text from a hand-written songbook.

Augin tėvas du sūneliu Kai du baltu balundeliu;	A father raised two sons Like two white pigeons;
Augindamas labai džiaugias, Sakė pajaugs artuojėliai.	As he raised them he was happy, He said they'll grow up to be plowmen.
Sakė pajaugs artuojėliai, Tik pajauga kareivėliai.	He said they'll grow up to be plowmen, But they grew up to be soldiers.
Išleisdamas į karužę Davė strielbą karubiną;	Seeing them off to war He gave them a carbine rifle
Davė strielbą karubiną, Ir šoblelį prikabiną.	He gave them carbine rifle And strapped on a sword.
Pats pulkauninks prima juoji, Su granatom širdį vieri;	The officer himself greets him, Runs his heart through with grenades;
Nuog tų dūmų galva skausta, Ir nuo krauji širdis alpsta.	From the smoke, the head aches, And from the blood, the heard grows faint.

### Songs about the Supernatural

At the rehearsal on November 4, 1991, in honor of *Vėlinės* (The Day of the Dead), Ratilio sang "Kur mūsų tėveliai gėrė," a traditional song for remembering the deceased. The song has been in the group's repertoire for many years; it appeared five years earlier in a songbook edited by Kelmickaitė [1989: 21]:

Kur mūsų tėveliai gėrė gėrė, Tin rugių kelmaliai žėle žėle, Ulioj bitala, ulioj ulioj Ulioj pilkoja, ulioj ulioj.	Where our fathers once drank [lived], There the rye flourishes, Ulioj honeybee, ulioj, ulioj, Ulioj gray one, ulioj ulioj.
Kur mūsų močiutas gėrė gėrė, Batvinių kelmaliai žėle žėle, Ulioj bitala...	Where our mothers drank The beet leaves flourish, Ulioj...
Kur mūsų brolaliai gėrė gėrė, Tin linų kelmaliai žėle žėle, Ulioj bitala...	Where our brothers once drank There the flax flourishes, Ulioj...
Kur mūsų sesiulas gėrė gėrė, Tin rūtų kelmaliai žėle žėle, Ulioj bitala...	Where our sisters once drank There the rue flourishes Ulioj...

In December of 1991, the group began to rehearse songs and game-songs of Midwinter, and Christmas songs. Songs with Christian content had, of course, been banned during the Soviet period, but were brought into the group's repertoire by Kelmickaitė soon after official censorship ceased, perhaps as early as 1989. The group seemed to enjoy singing this song.

Užgiedokime linksmai  
Viešpačiui mums gimusiam  
Garbę duokime karštai  
Iš dangaus nužengusiam  
Skamba jam dangaus balsai  
Gieda giesmes angelai  
Prakarty paguldynam

Dega jo širdies liepsna  
Meilė trykšta lyg srovė,  
Ir gaivina lyg rasa  
Teka gyvybės versmė.  
Skamba jam..

Jis karalius amžinas  
Atpirkėjas dieviškas  
Prakarty paguldytas  
Žemės ir dangaus garbė.  
Skamba jam...

Let us sing joyfully  
To the lord, born unto us;  
Let us warmly give honor  
To the one come from heaven.  
The voices of heaven sound for him,  
The angels sing hymns for him,  
Lying in the manger.

The flame of his heart burns,  
Love gushes in a stream,  
And brings life like dew,  
The spring of life flows.  
The voices of heaven...

He is the eternal king,  
The divine redeemer,  
Laid in the manger,  
The honor of earth and heaven.  
The voices of heaven...

## APPENDIX V

### LEEGAJUS: MEMBERSHIP, HISTORY, REPERTOIRE

This appendix supplements Chapter Four with information about Leegajus, the folklore ensemble sponsored by the Tallinn Teachers' Hall. It provides a list of members, 1970-1992, a list of documented concerts 1970-1992, and a brief overview of the group's repertoire.

#### Members of Leegajus: 1970-1992

About seventy persons have been members of Leegajus since its founding in 1970. The following (nearly comprehensive) list of members illustrates several points: First, the membership of the ensemble has been relatively stable since its founding. Second, the Sarv clan has formed a core group within the ensemble for most of its existence (see discussion of kin relations among ensemble members, Chapter 4). Third, a large majority of the ensemble's members (excluding the Setu women) had higher education.

Sources: Ensemble Diaries, not including years for which the diaries are missing (1978-79, 1986-87, 1988-89), printed jubilee programs which listed names of former members.

Abbreviations: Surnames in parentheses are maiden names. See married names for biographical information. H= Higher Education, S=Secondary Education, SSpec=Specialized Secondary Education; AgrAc=Agricultural Academy, Cons=Conservatory, TCons=Tallinn Conservatory, TPedIn=Tallinn Pedagogical Institute, TPI=Tallinn Polytechnical Institute, TTU=Tallinn Technical University, TU=Tartu University

Name	Years	Education	Occupation
Aardemäe, K.	1977-?	—	—
Aasmäe, Anu	I.83-84	H, TPedIn	Student, Culture Science
Aasamäe, Viivi (Voorand)	X.73-IX.81	H	Music Teacher
Andreas, Tiit	III.86-I.91	H, TPedIn	Social Organizer
(Brenner, S., see Korp)			
Danilov, Viktor	(pre-81)	—	—
Hansar, Lilian (Virveste)	X.71-80	H, Art Inst	(L. Hansar's daughter)
Hansar, Maria	(pre-81)	—	Technician
Heliste, Leida	75-IV.76;I.78-present	SSpec	
Johanson, Jaak	XI.77-XI.79	H, Cons	Student, Stage Art
Kann, Tuule	X.85-IX.87; IX.91-present	H, Vilnius Cons.	Student, Kannel
Kilu, Pauliine	(pre-81)	—	—
Kilvet, Kaarel	IX.72-XI.75	H	Theater Director
Kirsch, Heidi	X.85-86	H, TPedIn	Cultural Organizer
Koha, Aare	XI.72-IV.73	8th grade	—
Korp, Saima	79-present	H, TPedIn	Journalist

Kuutma, Kristin	IV.83-present	H, TU	Cultural Organizer
Kõhelik, Urve	XII.80-IV.81	SSpec.	Artist
Kõhelik, Vello	XII.80-V.81	H	Student, TRK
Lahi, Liina	1991-present	—	—
(Lainemaa, K., see Rebane)			
Lallu, Helgi	(pre-81)	—	—
Laos, Lea	80-VIII.86	H, TPedIn	Theater Director
Lasma, Kaili	IX.91-present	—	—
Lauri, Leida	XI.71-II.76	8th grade	—
Linna, Taivo	(pre-81)	—	—
Lohk, Aleksandra (Verevmägi)	II.73-76	6th grade	Hospital Orderly
Luhats, Toivo	X.70-I.74	H	Children's Group Leader
Meier, Helju	(pre-81)	—	—
Mesikäpp, Laine	X.71-VI.72	S	Drama Theater
Mäevali, Sulev	I.76-IX.86	H, TU	Architectural Historian
Mägi, Rein	IV.74-X.81	H, TPI	Construction Engineer
Närap, Aino	(pre-81)	—	—
Orgse, Sulev	(pre-81)	—	—
Padrik, Marko	IX.87-IX.90	S	Jeweller
Pai, Senni	III.84-IX.86	S	Technician
Paju, Reet	XI.86-present	H, TCons	Music Instructor
Palgi, Jaan	IX.85-86	H, TU	Biologist
Pauts, Indrek	X.87-88?	H	Instructor, TPedIn
Poverus, Epp (Tint)	II.82-IV.84;	H	Architect
Pöder, Anu	XII.84-XI.86	H, TU	Music Teacher
	IX.85-present		
Rahuoja, Margus	89-present	H	Student, Theater Directing
Rebane, Katrin (Lainemaa)	III.71-XI.82	H, TPedIn	Cultural Organizer
Reimaa, Küllike	78-81; IX.84-present	H	Architect
Saar, Reet	I.85-88?	—	Accountant
Sarv, Aat	IX.81-83	—	—
Sarv, Ain	X.70-present	S	Computer Engineer
Sarv, Jaan	XI.71-III.87	H, TCons	Radio Sound Technician
Sarv, Joel	XII.84-present	H, TTU	—
Sarv, Siim	I.78-present	H, TTU	Engineer
Sarv, Vaike	III.73-IV.74	H	Folklorist
Sarv, Õie (Suuveri)	II.73-present	H	Folklore Research Assistant
Sepamägi, Anne	III.73-present	7th grade	Housing Attendant
Sollmann, Erika	XII.84-87?	SSpec	Mathematician
(Suuveri, Õ., see Sarv)			
Taul, Ants	II.73-75	H, AgrAc	Student
Terak, Darja	76-77	Primary	Retired
Tiivel, Tuuli	91-present	—	—
(Tint, E., see Poverus)			

Tomson, Merike	III.71-XI.82	H, TPedIn	History Research Assistant
Toomesaar, Aino	V.77	SSpec	Farming Brigade Leader
Tubli, Toivo	X.72-present	H	Geologist
Tõnurist, Igor	X.70-present	H	Ethnographer
Täht, Anna	II.73-76	7th Grade	Store Clerk
Uibokand, Urve	(pre-81)	—	—
Vahar, Jaan	90-present	—	—
Vahter, Lorita	(pre-81)	—	—
Vanaselja, Siim	79-80	H	Engineer
(Verevmägi, Aleksandra, see Lohk)			
Verevmägi, Anna	I.73-76	6th Grade	Gymnasium Commandant
Verevmägi, Ilme	75-76	SSpec	Agronomist
Veske, Naida	(pre-85)	—	—
Viiul, Mati	IV.84-present	H	Geologist
Virgo, Veera	II.73-76	6th Grade	Worker
(Virveste, L., see Hansar)			
(Voorand, V., see Aasmäe)			



### Leegajus, Performances, 1970-1992

This nearly complete list of performances gives a general overview of the kinds of occasions at which Leegajus has performed since 1970. During its history, the ensemble has given many more than the 430 performances listed here, and has had at least 65 recording sessions.

Sources of information: Ensemble diaries, except in years when the diaries are missing (1978-79, 1986-87, 1988-89); Publications, indicated by square brackets []. An asterisk\* indicates that I have a copy of the list of songs performed at the given concert.

Abbreviations: ER=Estonian Radio, ETV=Estonian Television, MS=Middle School, Tln=Tallinn, TH=Teachers' Hall (Õpetajate Maja, also known as Haridus-ja Teadusala Töötajate Maja).

#### 1970-1971

There was no ensemble diary in this first year. Information is from interviews with Igor Tõnurist and Ain Sarv.

Bagpipe performance at the National Dance Festival.

The three founders of *Leegajus* —Toivo Luhats, Ain Sarv, and Igor Tõnurist— perform instrumental music at Orissaare Song Day.

October: Ensemble is founded. The trio is joined by Merike Tomson and Katrin Lainemaa, and the ensemble begins to sing folksongs.

November: The trio performs in Moscow, at the "Carousel" Series. They perform again at the Series Laureate concert in April, 1971.

#### 1971-1972

10 members listed in the first ensemble diary, which was begun on December 1, 1971.

Rehearsals: Dec 1, 7, 8, 14, 15, 22, 23, 29; Jan 4, 5, 11, 12, 18, 19, 25, 26; Feb 8, 9, 14, 19, 22, 23; Mar 7, 8, 15, 21, 22, 26, 28, 29; Apr 2, 4, 5, 11, 18, 19, 25, 26; May 3, 8, 15, 17, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31; Jun 19.

Organizational Meetings: May 29.

Recording Sessions: Jan 20 (ER); Jan 28 (ER); Feb 1 (ETV, in Kohtla Järve, broadcast Feb 13); Feb 15 (ETV, Shrovetide traditions, with *Leigarid*); Feb 20 (ETV); Feb 27 (ETV); Feb 28 (ER); Mar 26 (instr. ens., advertisement film for tourism cruise); May 7 (ETV, Finnish-language broadcast); May 10 (ER); Jul 23 (ETV, concert in Värskas, broadcast Aug 2).

Performances in Estonia: Nov 19 (Tartu, Est. Agricultural Academy, student hall opening ceremonies) [Esko 1971, Kalm 1971]; Dec 12 (Folk Music Conference) [Eesti rahva... 1971]; Jan 27 (Congress of ESSR Labor Unions, 2 dances); Feb 2 (Rakvere, 10 instr. pieces); Feb 12 (Tln TH, Luhats and Sarv perform Shrovetide music); Feb 19 (Värskas Sovkhoz, 2 hrs, with local Setu group) [Järv 1972, T. Sarv 1972]; Mar 3 (Laulasmaa Retirement Home); Mar 13 (Tln Music Museum, 20 pieces); Mar 25 (Kohtla-Nõmme MS and Kohtla-Nõmme Cultural Center,

2 concerts); May 28 ("Folkstudio" evening); Jun 2 (Kadriorg, half hour, with other TH ensembles); Jun 4 (Riispere Cultural Hall, with TPI Women's Choir) [Poomann 1972]; Jul 8 (Põlva folk art festival, 10 min.); Jul 23 (Värska, one and a half hours, with *Leigarid*); Jul 29-30 (Paganamaa, Võru raion, 1 hour, Friends of Nature meeting); Jul 31 (Kirov Kolkhoz, for tourists from USA).

Performances outside of Estonia: Apr 8 (Leningrad, Educational Workers' Cultural Hall, with *Leigarid*).

### 1972-1973

11 members listed in diary before February. After February, when the Setu group was added to *Leegajus*, there are 19 members.

[Feature articles about the ensemble: Leegajus 1972, Ottin 1973].

Rehearsals: Sep 6, 11, 15, 25, 27; Oct 5, 12; Nov 20, 26; Dec 6, 11, 23, 24; Jan 3, 18, 24, 31; Feb 1, 5, 8, 9, 13, 17, 20, 21, 25, 27; Mar 3, 6, 13, 14, 18, 20, 24, 26, 27, 31; Apr 3, 8, 11; May 10, 14, 22; Jun 11, 20.

Organizational Meetings: Sep 4; Oct 12, 18, 24; Dec 3; Feb 26; Apr 19.

Recording Sessions: Sep 10 (Photo session at Open-Air Museum, for *Noorus*); Sep 20 (ER); Dec 25 (ER, Broadcast Dec 29); Feb 6 (ER, instr. ensemble, Song Festival dances); Feb 25 (photo session, *Kultuur ja Elu*); Apr 12 (ETV Concert at Composers' Hall); Apr 15 (ER); May 23 (ER).

Performances in Estonia: Oct 14 (Harju r., Viinits 600-year anniversary, 20 minutes, with *Vikerlased*); Oct 21 (Värska Sovkhoz, Anna Vabarna 95-year birthday celebration); Nov 27 (Tln, Music Museum); Nov 30 (instr. ensemble, German educational delegation); Dec 7 (Tln, program selection committee for Dec 12 and Dec 22 concerts); Dec 24 (Tln, Kalev Sports Hall, Winter concert sponsored by ER, 12 min); Jan 27-28 (Saaremaa, ensemble member L. Virveste's wedding); Feb 15 (Rakvere, concert-lecture on Estonian instruments); Feb 26 (Tln, Music Museum); Apr 7 (Tallinn Pedagogical Institute, with *Ellero*); Apr 12 (Tln, Reception at Composers' Hall [J. Sarv 1973]); Apr 14 (World Labor Unions' Congress); Apr 27 (Folk Singers' Gathering); May 4 (Tln, East German delegation); May 6 (Vääna, ER festival), May 11 (Tln, TH); May 16-17 (Balto-Finnic Philology Symposium, two 1 1/2 hour concerts); May 31 (reception at "Pegasus" coffeehouse); Jun 25-Jul 1 (Tln, Estonian National Dance Festival, performances at Open-Air Museum and on Song Festival Stage [Liidja 1973]).

Performances outside of Estonia: Dec 12 (women's group in Barnaul, Altai District); Dec 22 (instr. group in Moscow, Festive Concert, Congress of People's Deputies); Apr 22-27 (Ain Sarv at Union folk musicians' competition, Voronezh); Apr 26-May 5 (Tõnurist and Taul accompany *Leigarid* on performance tour in Hungary).

#### 1973-1974

18 members listed in diary.

[Feature article about the ensemble: *Zabavskikh* 1973].

Rehearsals: Aug 24, 25, 26, 27, 30; Sep 3, 6, 7, 12, 17, 19, 24, 26, 27; Oct 15, 17, 18, 23, 31; Nov 3, 12, 13, 18, 19, 21; Dec 5, 10, 12, 14, 17; Jan 2, 7, 9, 10, 14, 23, 28; Feb 4, 6, 11, 13, 16, 18, 20, 21, 25, 27; Mar 2, 4, 5, 11, 12, 16, 20, 25, 27; Apr 1, 3, 8, 10, 14, 17, 24, 26; May 6, 8, 12, 14, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28; Jun 1, 3, 10, 12, 17.

Organizational Meetings: Sep 8; Nov 4; Dec 22; Mar 31.

Recording Sessions: Oct 19 (Tln Record Studios); Jan 14 (Film "Soviet Estonia"); Jan 16-21 (Moscow Central TV Series, "Our Address is the Soviet Union," 1/2 hr. video, also recorded by Central Radio); Apr 26 (ER, 1/2 hr); May 7 (ETV, broadcast May 19).

Performances in Estonia: Sep 12 (Finnish ethnography students, 1 1/2 hour); Nov 1 (with *Kullaketrajad*, World Labor Unions' Congress); Nov 4 (Tln, TH); Nov 20 (Tln, Music Museum, 2 songs and 2 instr. pieces); Dec 13 (East German delegation); Dec 21 (History Institute); Jan 9 (perf. during rehearsal for M. Taagepera, visitor from USA); Mar 1 (with *Hellero*, Tartu University Club); Mar 2 (Tartu, Youth Hall Sõprus); Mar 17 (Folk Music Conference); Apr 1 ("Sädeme" Correspondence Club Mtg); Apr 24 (Concert about Setu folk music [Tõnurist 1974b]); Apr 27 (Loksa, Lahemapäev festival); May 4 (with *Kullaketrajad*, Ministry of Culture overview concert); May 13 (20 min. meeting with Finnish ensemble, *Bardid*, at Friendship of Nations Celebration); May 24 (Tln TH); Jun 2 (Kohtla-Järve Raion Iisaku Song Stage, Rural Youth Assembly).

Performances outside of Estonia: Sep 31 (sic!) - Oct 13 (instr. ens., four concerts, East Germany); Nov 24-25 (Two 1/2 hr. concerts, Vilnius Teachers' Hall and Vacationers' Club).

#### 1974-1975

19 members listed in ensemble diary.

Rehearsals: Sep 2, 3, 4, 10, 16, 18, 23, 25; Oct 2, 9, 14, 16, 21, 22, 23, 28, 30; Nov 4, 11, 13, 18, 20, 23, 27; Dec 2, 4, 9; Jan 15, 22, 27, 28, 29; Feb 3, 8, 10, 12, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26; Mar 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 22, 26, 31; Apr 2, 7, 8, 9, 16, 21, 23, 27, 30; May 7, 12, 13, 19, 21, 28; Jun 2, 4, 9, 11, 16, 18, 25, 30; Jul 2, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 23.

Organizational meetings: Oct 7, Nov 4, Dec 11.

Recording sessions: Sep 26, 27, 28, and Oct 18 (Tln Recording Studio); Nov 29 (Lithuanian TV, Vilnius); Feb 17 (ETV); Mar 30 (ER); May 1 (Midsummer program, ETV).

LP Record: *Leegajus* [Melodiia, C32-04963-4 Stereo].

Performances in Estonia: Sep 27 (ens. trio, folksong demonstration at lecture, Tln Pedagogical Institute); Oct 4: (Teachers' Day celebration, Tln TH); Nov 2 (Folklore Day, Märjamaa MS); Nov 23 (2 concerts, Tln TH); Nov 24 (Paide Nature Protection Society "Oak Leaf Evening," Paide); Nov 25 (ESSR Composers' Union Congress, Koeru); Jan 18 (Tln TH); Jan 28 (ESSR

State Tariff Commission); Mar 22 (Friendship Concert, Estonian Agricultural Academy, Tartu); Mar 29 (Tln, Art Institute); May 5 (with Boys' Choir and a dance group, perf. for a delegation from USA, Canada, and Israel); Jun 21 (Midsummer festival, with *Leigarid*, Viitna, Lahemaa National Park); Jul 15-18 (Setu group, 4 concerts, Open-Air Museum, Tln); Jul 23 (Finnish Political Parties delegation).

Performances outside of Estonia: Nov 29 (Baltic Musicology Conference, Vilnius [V. Sarv 1975]).

### 1975-1976

20 members listed in ensemble diary.

Rehearsals: Sep 3, 10, 17, 24, 29; Oct 1, 6, 8, 13, 15, 20, 22, 27, 29; Nov 3, 5, 10, 12, 17, 19, 24, 26; Dec 1, 3, 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 27, 29; Jan 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 26, 28; Feb 2, 3, 9, 18, 20, 23, 25; Mar 1, 3, 8, 10, 15, 17, 22, 24, 26, 27, 31; Apr 3, 4, 7, 12, 14, 19, 21, 24, 25, 28, 30; May 3, 5, 10, 12, 13, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 31; Jun 2, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, 28.

Organizational Meetings: Feb 4, Feb 11.

Recording Sessions: Oct 15 (3 songs, ETV "Noortestudio"); Dec 18 (women's group, ER); Dec 22 (instr. ens. and men's group, ER).

Performances in Estonia: Dec 9 (Rakvere, "Folk Singers and Players" concert series [Tõnurist 1975b]); Dec 13 (Tln TH); Jan 14 (during rehearsal, dance demonstration for leaders of *Sõprus*); Jan 22 (during rehearsal, with *Sõprus*, demonstration for French commission); Jan 23 (Harju r., Aasmäe Sovkhoz); Feb 3 (Tln Polytechnical Institute Main Lecture Hall); Mar 5 (men's group, Women's Day celebration, Tln TH); Mar 8 (Women's Day celebration, J. Tombi Culture Palace); Mar 27 (Tln TH); Apr 4 (All-Soviet Amateur art overview concert); Apr 10 (Folklore Day, Kuusalu Music School); May 4 (Tln Music Museum); May 11 (perf. in 11th grade music lesson, Tln MS #7); May 13 (Ukrainian Culture Workers' delegation); Jun 12-13 (two concerts for tourists, Tln, Open-Air Museum); Jul 2 (Tõstamaa).

Performances outside of Estonia: Apr 24 (Leningrad, All-Russian History and Culture Heritage Society [Orokhovatskii 1976]; Apr 25 (Leningrad, Educational Workers' Culture Palace); May 22-23 (Vilnius, *Skamba, skamba kankliai* Folklore Festival [Znaidzilauskaitė 1976]).

### 1976-1977

12 members listed in ensemble diary. the Setu group, with two members of *Leegajus* and six additional persons, is now listed separately in the diary. The list of rehearsals and performances, however, includes both groups together.

Rehearsals: Sep 1, 3, 30; (no record of rehearsals in Oct, Nov, or Dec); Jan 5, 12, 17, 19, 25, 26, 30, 31; Feb 2, 3, 14, 16, 23, 28; Mar 2, 5, 9, 10, 13, 16, 21, 23, 26, 28, 30; Apr 4, 6, 11, 13, 18, 20, 23, 25; May 3, 4, 10, 11, 15, 16, 18, 24, 25.

Organizational Meetings: Jan 5, Apr 27.

Recording Sessions: May 15 ("Tere, tere, tiipajalga", ER).

Performances in Estonia: Sep 14-15 (class demonstrations, Tln MS #7); Sep 30 (Middle School Teachers' meeting, Tln TH); Oct 21, 24, 25 (3 concerts, Finno-Ugric Music Conference, Tln and Tartu); Feb 3 (45 min, ESSR Labor Unions' 17th Congress); Feb 5 (with Setu group, Amateur Art overview concert); Feb 26 (concert and dance evening, Tln TH); Feb 27 (concert in honor of Laine Mesikäpp); Mar 13 (Amateur Ensemble overview laureate concert); Mar 26 ("Tere, tere, tiipajalga"); Apr 23-24 (2 concerts together with Vilnius Electrographic Institute ensemble *Sadauja* and Lahemaa ens., Estonian Radio Theater and Võsu Club); May 20 (Laureate evening, Tombi Culture palace); May 22 (with Lahemaa ens., Tln Music Museum).

Performances outside of Estonia: Summer 1977 (Azerbaidzhan, All-Soviet Amateur Art Festival [Krasovskaia 1977]); Sep 8 (Stockholm, USSR-Sweden Friendship Society).

### 1977-1978

16 members listed in ensemble diary, with 8 additional members in Setu group.

Rehearsals: Sep 1, 3, 5, 7, 14, 19, 21, 26, 28; Oct 3, 5, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 31; Nov 2, 9, 10, 14, 20; Dec 5, 7, 12, 14, 17, 19, 26, 27; Jan 4, 9, 11, 18, 25; Feb 5, 8, 15, 20, 22, 27; Mar 2, 12, 13, 15, 20, 22, 24, 29, 31; Apr 1, 5, 12, 14, 16, 19, 24; May 3, 10, 12, 15, 17, 22, 24.

Organizational Meetings: Sep 1; Jan 3, 4; Feb 12; Mar 6, 13, 15, 22.

Recording Sessions: Oct 27 (ER); Nov 3 (ER); Nov 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 (Moscow, Central TV); Jan 16 ("Children's songs recorded" ER?); Jan 20 (ETV); Mar 27 (photo session); May 26 (20 min, Paide r., May 9th" Kolkhoz, ETV); May 29 (ER).

Performances in Estonia: Oct 12 (Lecture/folksong demonstration, Kehra MS); Oct 13 (Tln, Composers' Hall School Youth Music Club evening); Nov 16 ("If I were the ruler of my master" [V. Sarv 1978]); Nov 16 (Setu group, Tln Art Institute); Dec 17 (Tln Music Museum, concert in honor of Anna Vabarna 100-year anniversary [Tõnurist 1977e]); Dec 28 ("Year's end celebration"); Jan 11 (meeting with Finns during rehearsal); Jan 31 (reception for visiting Leningrad ensemble); Feb 1 (Leningrad ensemble concert and friendship evening); Feb 11 (Tugamann, Geology Institute celebration); Mar 29 (demonstration of program for Inna Taasna during rehearsal); Mar 30 (Tartu, Memorial for Votyak folk singer Ouden Figuurov); Apr 8 (representatives of the ensemble performed together with the Lithuanian folklore ensemble, *Sadauja*); Apr 16 (Martinmas program, preview concert); Apr 25 (Mother Language Society Folklore Section meeting); Jul 26-30 (Saaremaa tour: Jul 26 Abruksa Island, Jul 28 Kuressaare Castle, Jul 29 Orissaare Song State, Jul 30 Kaarma [Leegajus Saaremaal 1978]).

Performances outside of Estonia: Sep 9-11 (1 full-length concert and 3 short performances, Leningrad Oblast, Kirishi Folklore Festival); Oct 22-23 (Vilnius, Art Workers' hall and 2 concerts in Čiurlionis Art School [Burkšaitienė 1978]).

### 1978-1979

Diary missing.

Performances: Nov 4 (Tln TH, "If I were the ruler of my master" [V. Sarv 1978]); Nov 9 (Tln TH, Martinmas [V. Sarv 1978]).

## 1979-1980

18 members listed in ensemble diary. Setu group no longer listed in diary.

[Article about the ensemble: V. Sarv 1980]

Rehearsals: Aug 27; Sep 10, 12, 17, 19, 24, 26, 28; Oct 1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 24, 29, 31; Nov 5, 9, 12, 14, 19, 21, 28; Dec 3, 5, 10, 12, 19; Jan 2, 9, 30; Feb 5, 6, 13, 20, 27; Mar 5, 6, 10, 17, 26; Apr 7, 14, 16, 21, 23; May 5, 14; May 29-Jun 1 (ensemble camp in Sarghaud, Pärnu r.).

Organizational Meetings: Sep 3, Sep 5, Feb 27, May 26.

Recording Sessions: Oct 4 (instr. ens, 3 dances, ER); Oct 17 (10 min, Hungarian Radio, Budapest); Jan 24 (30 min, "Tere, tere tiipajalga" ETV, broadcast Feb 4); Jun 2 (ER).

Short-Play record: Simmanilood (Melodiia C32-05511-12 Stereo), described in [Erilaid 1975].

LP Record: Leegajus (Melodiia C30-05807-8 Stereo).

Performances in Estonia: Aug 29 (25 min, 30th Baltic Regatta, Tln); Sep 28 (40 min, Tln TH); Nov 9 (Martinmas program and dance evening, Tartu, Estonian Agricultural Academy Club); Nov 23 (35 min, Pärnu-Jaagupi MS, Folklore Day); Nov 24 (30 min, Tln TH, conference); Dec 8 (30 min, Geology Institute winter celebration); Dec 15 (two 45 min. concerts, Märjamaa MS and EPT Club); Jan 4 (New Year's Party/"Näärisimman"); Jan 23 (meeting with folk musicians from Finland); Mar 19 (6 songs, 3 instr. pieces, "What the *regilaul* Narrates"); Mar 28-30 (Two 40min concerts and other events, Kihnu Island); Apr 8 (30 min, Ministry of Education seminar); Apr 24 (1 1/2 hr, "What the *regilaul* Narrates"); Apr 25 (Tln TH Children's folkdance group festival); May 7 (friendship meeting with Georgian folksong ensemble, *Ornano*); May 21 (2 1/2 hr. lecture-concert, Finnish student delegation); Jun 1 (Two 50-min concerts, with *Linnutaja*, C.R. Jakobson Farmstead Museum); Jul 19-29 (Six concerts, Tln, Olympic Regatta Championships).

Performances outside of Estonia: Oct 18 (Budapest, 1 1/2 hr); Jan 11-13 (Three concerts, 15 min, 35 min, 10 min, Leningrad Oblast, Kirishi Folklore Festival); Jul 17 (Moscow, at Summer Olympics).

## 1980-1981

18 members listed in ensemble diary.

Rehearsals: Oct 8, 13, 15, 20, 22, 27, 29; Nov 5, 17, 19, 24, 26; Dec 1, 3, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17, 22, 23; Jan 12, 14, 19, 26, 28; Feb 2, 4, 9, 11, 16, 18, 23, 25; Mar 2, 9, 11, 18, 23, 25, 30; Apr 1, 6, 7, 15, 20; May 6, 11, 13, 18, 20, 25, 27.

Organizational Meetings: Oct 1, Jan 7, Feb 9, Mar 16.

Recording Sessions: Apr 12 (*Leegajus* 10-year anniversary, ETV).

Performances in Estonia: Oct 25 (Räpina MS, Folklore Day); Oct 30 (Finno-Ugric concert, Tln TH); Nov 1 (Two concerts, Jõgeva r., Pala Primary School and Pala Kolkhoz harvest festival); Nov

6 (delegation from Kiev Theater); Nov 10 (Martinmas); Dec 29 (New Year's party/"Näärisimman"; \*Jan 31 (30 min, Olympic village); Feb 13 (Kuivajõe, Geology Institute winter celebration); Mar 4 (Tln TH, "Me ei taha..."); \*Mar 13 (1 1/2 hr, Viljandi Music School); Apr 7 (2 hrs, Tln Draama Theater, *Leegajus* 10-year anniversary concert); May 20 (Children's folkdance group concert); May 29-31 (friendship concert with Lithuanian folklore ensemble *Sadauja*, Kihnu Island); Jun 25, 27, \*29 (Three lecture-concerts, VEKSA Seminar).

Performances outside of Estonia: None listed.

## 1981-1982

17 members listed in ensemble diary.

Rehearsals: Sep 3, 7, 14, 16, 21, 23, 28, 30; Oct 12, 19, 21, 26, 28; Nov 4, 11, 16, 18, 25, 30; Dec 7, 14, 16, 17, 21, 28, 30; Jan 11, 13, 18, 20, 26; Feb 1, 3, 8, 15, 17, 22, 24; Mar 1, 3, 10, 28, 31; Apr 5, 7, 12, 26, 28; May 3, 10, 12, 17, 19, 24, 26, 31; Jun 2, 7, 9, 16, 21, 28.

Organizational Meetings: Sep 2, Oct 12, Nov 25.

Recording Sessions: Oct 28 (with *Ellerhein* Children's Choir, ER); Oct 28 (Tln Film Studio, sound recording for "Karge Meri"); Nov 28, Dec 13 (New Year's broadcast, ETV); Jun 18 (ETV).

Performances in Estonia: Sep 5 (30 min, Harju r., Lauristini Kolkhoz, T. Võimla 100-year anniversary); Sep 8 (dance music for Canadian visitors); Oct 9 (instr. group, Baltic Musicology Conference); Nov 9 (Mumming); \*Nov 14 (Setu song evening); Nov 21 (60 min, Palamuse MS, Family Evening); Dec 21 (Children's dance group concert); \*Dec 23 ("Men's Songs," Tln TH [Tõnurist 1981c]); \*Jan 4 (New Year's Party/"Näärisimman", Tln TH); Jan 27 (ER Conference); Feb 6 (Geology Institute); \*Mar 13 (Sonda MS Folklore Day); Mar 19 (3 songs, 1 bagpipe piece, History Museum exhibit opening); Jun 8 (30 min, Friendship Society, fro guests from Syria); Jun 12 (2 songs, men's group, Põlva r.); Jun 13 (8 min, Põlva, 3rd Folk Music Day).

Performances outside of Estonia: Apr 16 (Three 20-min concerts, Leningrad, Volodorsk Manufacturing Co. and 1 hr 15 min, Leningrad Conservatory); \*Apr 17 (Leningrad, "Folklore Today Festival).

## 1982-1983

17 members listed in ensemble diary.

Rehearsals: Sep 6, 13, 20, 27; Oct 13, 18, 25; Nov 1, 3, 17, 18, 25; Dec 1, 9, 16, 21; Jan 20, 26, 27; Feb 3, 9, 10, 17, 21, 24, 28; Mar 3, 9, 16, 17, 24, 31; Apr 7, 13, 18, 20, 25; May 5, 11, 18, 19, 24, 30.

Organizational Meetings: Aug 30, Oct 18.

Recording Sessions: Nov 10 (ETV); Nov 17 (women's group, ER); Jan 31 (ER); Feb 14 (instr. group, ER).

Performances in Estonia: Oct 1 (Folk ensemble friendship meeting, Tln TH); Oct 2 (women's group, 3 songs, Finno-Ugric Folk Music Conference); Oct 26 (Finnish student delegation from Tampere

University); Nov 9 (Martinmas celebration); Nov 16 (Tln MS #49, 5th grade); Nov 27 ("Songs of the Brothers" concert and dance evening with *Sadauja* and the Leningrad Conservatory Ensemble, Tln TH); Dec 4 (Tln TH 25-year anniversary celebration); Dec 10 (40 min, Higher Education Institutions Social Activists meeting, Glehn Castle); \*Dec 29 (New Year's party/Näärisimman" celebrated together with *Leigarid*, Tln TH); Jan 4 (instr. group, History Institute New Year's celebration); \*Jan 9 (New Year's concert, Paide); Jan 29 (winter celebration, Geology Institute); Par 27 ("Kes sind käskis kosja tulla," 1 hr 15 min, Tln TH); Apr 29 ("Kes sind käskis...", Kehra Sovkhoz); May 15 (5 songs and "Kes sind käskis...", folk song seminar, Tln Composer's Hall); June 14 (instr. ensembler, with *Sõprus*, 30 min, Venice Mask Theater Actors); Jun 21 (1 hr 20 min, VEKSA seminar, Open-Air Museum); Jul 8 (instr group, 2 hrs, Viljandi Children's Music Teachers' seminar).

Performances outside of Estonia: Jun 25 (four performances: Honoring the Finnish esemble, *Rõntyskät*, Friendship Concert, Midsummer Celebration, and Wedding, Leningrad Oblast, Vsevolozhskii r, Rappula).

#### 1983-1984

16 members listed in ensemble diary.

Reheasals: Sep 7, 14, 21, 28; Oct 5, 12, 17, 24; Nov 2, 14, 16, 18; Dec 7, 14, 19, 21, 26; Jan 3, 11, 18, 23, 25, 30; Feb 8, 13, 15, 20, 22, 27, 29; Mar 5, 12, 14, 19, 21, 26, 28; Apr 2, 4, 9, 11, 16, 18, 23, 25; May 7, 10, 14, 16, 21, 23, 28, 30; Jun 4, 13; Jun 22-24 (ensemble camp, Pärnu r.).

Organizational Meetings: None listed.

Recording Sessions: Nov 18 (photo session); Apr 16 (ER).

Performances in Estonia: Sep 2 (with Finnish folkdance ensemble, *Imatra*, Tln TH); \*Sep 17 (Finnish Teachers' delegation, Tln TH); Oct 3 (Vietnamese cultural delegation); Oct 26 (meeting with Udmurt folk singers, Tln Composers' Hall); \*Oct 29 (concert-lecture, visiting students from Harju r. Children's Music Schools); Nov 9 (Martinmas celebration); \*Nov 28 (Ministry of Culture seminar, Tln TH); \*Dec 29 (New Year's party, Tln TH); Jan 9 (overview concert, Tln TH); Jan 18 (concert-lecture, Day Care Center #124); Feb 1 (exhibit opening, UKU Folk Art Manufacturing Co., Tln); \*Mar 16 ("Ekspress" Cooperative workers, Tln TH); Mar 30 (All-Soviet Friends of Books Week participants, Tln TH); Apr 28 (concert-lecture, Republic-Wide Youth Local History Societies Meeting, Jüri MS); \*May 25 (Friendship Society, Socialist Countries' journalists and Belgian delegation); Jun 6 (demonstration to commission of program to be performed abroad); \*Jun 9 (meeting with Estonian Swedes); Jun 16-17 (two performances, Republic-Wide Folk Music Days, Rakvere r); Jun 20 (Friendship evening with Ashkhabadi amateur collectives, Tln TH); Jun 23 (Midsummer celebration organized by ER, Audru).

Performances outside of Estonia: \*Nov 22 (2 concerts, Leningrad); \*Nov 26 (Vilnius, Teachers' Hall Tourist Club, "Friendship of Nations" evening); Jul 13-23 (Belgium, five 2-hr concerts at Gent Days, two concerts at USSR Culture Days, and a concert at the USSR Embassy in Brussels).

#### 1984-1985

19 members listed in ensemble diary.



Rehearsals: Sep 17, 19, 24, 26; Oct 1, 3, 8, 10, 31; Nov 12, 14, 19, 21, 26; Dec 5, 12, 17, 19, 26; Jan 16, 23, 28, 30; Feb 11, 13, 18, 20, 25, 27; Mar 6, 11, 18, 25; Apr 1, 15, 17, 24, 28; May 6, 13, 20, 22; Jun 3, 5, 10, 12, 17, 19, 24, 26.

Organizational Meetings: Sep 5, Sep 9, Jan 9, Jan 30, Feb 25.

Recording Sessions: Mar 20 (men's group, ER); Mar 27 (ER).

Performances in Estonia: Sep 22 (Tallinn Liberation 40-Year Anniversary Commemoration, Tln TH); \*Oct 5 (Friendship Society); Nov 21 (Finnish teachers' delegation, Tln TH); \*Nov 21 (two concert-lectures, Pärnu MS #4); Dec 3 (Overview concert, Tln TH); Dec 8 (concert-lecture, "Estonian Narrative Songs" and dance evening, Folksong Seminar, Tln TH); \*Dec 27 (New Year's party, Tln TH); \*Mar 2-3 (two concerts, Vormsi and Hapsalu Culture Hall); Mar 16 (concert-lecture, Harju r Music Schools, Tln TH); Apr 21 (Amateur Art Ensemble Overview Concert, Tln Matkamaja); \*May 17 (West German delegation, Tln TH); \*Jun 5 ("Old Town Days," Tln Town Hall Square); \*Jul 5 (Midsummer celebration for CIOFF Assembly delegations, Lahemaa, Altja); Jul 7 (Amateur Art Laureates Concert [Sõpruse ringmäng 1985]); \*Jul 17.

Performances outside of Estonia: \*Oct 14-25 (three concerts, restricted number in group, Sweden); \*Apr 6 (Ashkhabad, Turkmenistan).

#### 1985-1986

24 members listed in ensemble diary.

Rehearsals: Sep 18, 25, 30; Oct 2, 10, 14, 16, 21, 23, 28; Nov 4, 11, 13, 20, 25, 27; Dec 2, 7, 9, 11, 16, 18; Jan 13, 15, 20, 22, 27, 29; Feb 3, 5, 10, 12, 17, 19, 26; Feb 3, 5, 10, 12, 17, 19, 26; Mar 3, 5, 12, 17, 19, 24, 26, 31; Apr 2, 7, 9, 14, 16, 21, 23, 28, 30; May 7, 12, 14, 21, 23; Jun 1, 9, 18, 30; Jul 2, 7, 16; Aug 8, 28.

Organizational Meetings: Sep 4, Jan 8, May 5, Aug 28.

Recording Sessions: None listed.

Performances in Estonia: Oct 9 (Teachers' Day ceremony, Tln TH); Oct 29 (Belgian delegation, Tln TH); Oct 31 (youth evening, Tln TH); \*Nov 15 (Lenin Kolkhoz, Rapla r); Dec 12 (Mountain Vacationers' Club, Tln TH); \*Dec 21 (*Leegajus* 15-year anniversary concert, Tln TH); \*Jan 17 (New Year's party, UKU Folk Art Manufacturing Co, Tln); \*Jan 31 (Estonian Communist Party 19th Congress, Tln TH); Feb 24 (Communist Party of the Soviet Union 27th Congress, Tln TH); \*Mar 22 (concert-lecture, "Estonian Folk Music"); \*Mar 29 (Viljandi); May 10 (host of Lithuanian ensemble \**Sadauja* concert, Tln Music Museum); \*May 22 (Soviet/Finnish Youth Meeting); \*Jun 1 (Tln TH); \*Jun 11 ("Old Town Days," Tln Town Hall Square); Jun 14-15 (Republic-Wide Folk Music Festival, Võru); Jun 19 (Friendship Society, international conference delegates); Jul 4 (Friendship meeting with Swedish ensemble, *Ormen Långe*); \*Jul 5-6 (*Viru säru* folklore festival, Lahemaa, Viitna and Palmse); \*Aug 2-3 (Setu *Leelopäev* folklore festival, Obinitsa); \*Aug 9-10 (folklore festival, Kihnu Island); Aug 23 (festival, Manilaiu, Pärnu r).

Performances outside of Estonia: \*Dec 5 (Moscow, with Georgian ensemble *Mtiebi*, concert series "Musical Folklore of the Nations of the USSR" [V. Sarv 1985]).

## 1986-1987

Ensemble diary missing. Most of the events below are listed in a handwritten "Work Plan for the First Half of 1987," dated 11 Jan 1987, in Igor Tõnurist's personal archive. Other events are dated in handwritten song lists for those concerts (Tõnurist archive), or in publications.

March 17, 1987, death of Jaan Sarv.

Rehearsals are not listed in the "Work Plan," except for those related to exceptional performances: Feb 2 (Lecture); Feb 23-Mar 2 (ensemble members' solo performances and analyses); Apr (Lecture); May/Jun (ensemble's song camp, with preparation for the upcoming international folklore festival in Vilnius).

Organizational Meetings: Jan 5, Jan 16.

Performances in Estonia: \*Sep 1 (Altja); \*Oct 7 (Wedding Songs); Dec 17 (Mustjala district folk music, Tln TH [Tõnurist 1986b]); \*Dec (New Year's party, Language and Literature Institute); \*Jan 28 ("Kuusalu Folk Music", Kolga Primary School, Harju r); Feb (Tartu, friendship meeting with *Hellero*); Feb 20 (Tln MS #43); Mar (Children's Music Week); \*Mar 28 (Overview Concert of ensembles participating in the *Baltica '87* Folklore Festival); Apr 4-5 (two concerts, "Mustjala Folk Music," Mustjala and Kingiseppa); \*Apr 18 (*Hellero* 15-year anniversary, Tartu); Apr 22 (Tln TH); \*Apr 26 (Republic-Wide Amateur Art Overview, Tln); May 16 (Agronomists' meeting, Jõgeva r); May 31 (two performances: Town Hall Square and Seitme Castle Park, Tln); \*Jun 3 ("Old Town Days," Tln); \*Jun 13-14 (Kingiseppa r); \*Jul 10-12 (*Viru säru* Folklore Festival, Lahemaa).

Performances outside of Estonia: \*Nov (Armenia); Mar 13-15 (Vilnius, friendship meeting with *Sadauja*); Jul 14-19 (Vilnius, *Baltica '87* Folklore Festival).

## 1987-1988

21 members listed in ensemble diary.

Rehearsals: Sep 7, 14, 21, 23, 28, 30; Oct 5, 12, 14, 19, 22, 26; Nov 3, 4, 9, 11, 16, 23, 25, 30; Dec 2, 5, 6, 14, 16, 22; Jan 6, 13, 18, 20, 25, 27; Feb 1, 3, 8, 10, 15, 17, 24, 29; Mar 2, 9, 14, 16, 21, 23, 28; Apr 6, 11, 13, 18, 25; May 12, 16, 18, 25, 30; Jun 1, 13, 22, 29.

Organizational Meetings: Sep 2, Sep 9, Dec 2, Jan 13, Feb 3, Mar 9.

Recording Sessions: Oct 18 (photo session in the countryside); Dec 19 (filming of New Year's traditions in Haapsalu); Dec 26 (with children's group, live broadcast, ETV); May 20 (1 hr, swing songs, ETV).

Performances in Estonia: Sep 16 (meeting with Finnish folklorists); Oct 13 (4 songs, meeting with Estonians from Georgian Republic); \*Oct 22 (45 min, Language Day, Evening MS #1); Oct 24 (2 hrs, Folksong Seminar); \*Oct 28 ("Beautiful Estonian Waltzes" [Tõnurist 1987c]); Nov 5 (2 hrs, Martinmas and Catherine's Day traditions, "Kodulinna" Hall, Tln); \*Nov 18 (3 hrs, concert and dance, Language Day, Tln MS #10); Nov 24 (4 hrs, Children's Catherine's Day evening celebration); Nov 28 (concert and dance evening, Kohila Sovkhoz, Rapla r); Dec 6 (8 min, All-Soviet Amateur Art Laureates Concert); Dec 12 (Tln Heachers' Hall 30-year

anniversary celebration); Dec 19 (Haapsalu Heritage Club); Dec 19 (Children's New Year's party, Tln TH); Jan 8 ("Vasar" Manufacturing Co Veteran Workers' New Year's evening); Jan 14 (instr group, Heritage Society); Feb 13 (*Sõsarõ* anniversary concert); \*Feb 26 (Aravete Culture Hall, Paide r); Feb 27 (Haapsalu, Estonian Swede Society meeting); \*Mar 18; Mar 26 (2 hrs, "Estonian Waltzes", Haljala, Rakvere r); Apr 1 (Geology Institute); Apr 8 (20 min, Children's Music Days opening ceremony, Tln MS #21); \*Apr 20 (Finland-Swede literature evening, Writers' Hall); May 4 (30 min, Nature Protection Society meeting); May 22 (1 1/2 hrs, Methodology Day, Rapla r); \*Jun 5 and Jun 7 (Tln Town Hall Square); Jun 11 (dance evening, Hageri Parish Day); \*Jun 23 (Midsummer concert, Vetla, Harju r); Jul 4 (*regilaul* evening, Tln, Open-Air Museum); Jul 8 (Historians' meeting, Lahemaa).

Performances outside of Estonia: \*Jan 1 (Melbourne, Australia, *Esto '88*); Feb 20-21 (three performances with Latvian folklore ensemble *Budēļi*, Rīga: 45 min at the University of Latvia, 15 min at the Open-Air Museum, and \*1 hr at the Philharmonic Hall); \*Jul 11-17 (*Baltica '88* Folklore Festival, concerts in Rīga, Saulkrasti, Bauska, Ogre).

#### 1988-1989

Ensemble diary missing. All events for this year are from program lists in Igor Tõnurist's personal archive.

Recording Sessions: \*Sep 12 (20 min, ETV).

Performances in Estonia: \*Sep 30 (Pärnu); \*Oct 7 (Pärnu); \*Nov 21 (Tln, MS #49); \*Feb 14 (Tln, Linnahall); \*May 14 (two performances— Swing celebration and spring songs, at the Open Air Museum, Tln); Jul 5-9 (*Baltica '89* Folklore Festival, Tln, performances: \*Jul 4 Finno-Ugric evening, \*Jul 5-6, \*Jul 7 in Jaani Church).

Performances outside of Estonia: \*Oct 22-23 (Kaunas, Lithuania).

#### 1989-1990

16 members listed in ensemble diary.

Rehearsals: Sep 18, 20, 27; Oct 2, 4, 9, 11, 16, 18, 23, 25, 30; Nov 1, 13, 15, 20, 22, 27, 29; Dec 4, 11, 13, 18, 20; Jan 8, 10, 15, 17, 22, 24, 28, 31; Feb 5, 7, 12, 14, 19, 21, 26; Mar 12, 14, 19, 21, 26, 28; Apr 2, 9, 11, 16, 18, 23; May 14, 16, 21, 23, 28, 30; Jun 1, 6, 7.

Organizational Meetings: Sep 6, Sep 13, May 7, Jun 6.

Recording Sessions: \*Dec 2 (concert in Randvere, ETV); \*Dec 6 ("Evening Prayer," ETV); May 11 ("When You Go to the Song Festival," ETV, broadcast May 22 and may 26); \*Published cassette tape, Leegajus (Kooperatiiv "Kuldnokk").

Performances in Estonia: \*Oct 21 (30 min, Friendship Society, Finno-Ugric evening); Nov 26 (30 min, "Siberian Estonian Folklore," Union-Estonian Society); \*Dec 21 ("Traditional Estonian Religious Music," Tln TH); \*Dec 26 (Sutepla Chapel, Open-Air Museum, Tln); Dec 28 ("Traditional Estonian Religious Music," Tln Music Hall); \*Feb 17 (Torma Culture Hall, Jõgeva r); Feb 27 (Friends of Books Club, Mustamäe Library, Tln); Mar 19 (Tln TH); May 10 (Melanie Kaarma exhibit opening); \*Jun 2 ("Old Town Days," Tln Town Hall Square); Jun 4 (2 chorales, Pentecost service, Sutepla Chapel, Open-Air Museum, Tln).

Performances outside of Estonia: \*Apr 27-30 (Espoo, Finland); \*Jun 13-Jul 4 (Sweden and Norway); \*Jul 13-23 (Kaustinen Folklore Festival, Finland).

#### 1990-1991

17 members listed in ensemble diary.

Rehearsals: Sep 12, 19, 24; Oct 1, 10, 15, 17, 24, 30; Nov 7, 12, 14, 19, 21, 26, 28; Dec 3, 10, 17, 19; Jan 16, 23, 28, 30; Feb 11, 18, 20; Mar 6, 13, 18, 20; Apr 3, 8, 10, 15, 17, 25, 29; May 6, 13, 15, 26, 30.

Organizational Meetings: Sep 5, Sep 26, Dec 5, Jan 2, Jan 9, Jan 23, Jun 4, Jun 17.

Recording Sessions: Feb 25 (ER); \*Mar 25 (Tõnurist's archive has a list of songs taped on this date, probably at the rehearsal listed above).

Performances in Estonia: Sep 17 (women's group, Wedding Leaders' Seminar); \*Oct 4 (Teachers' Ball, Tln TH); Oct 19 (Finno-Ugric Day, Tln MS #8); Oct 25 (Finno-Ugric Day, Tln Vocational School #15); Nov 23 (Catherine's Day, Tln MS #40); Dec 15 (International Folklore Cooperation Agreement Signing, Tln Town Hall); \*Dec 20 (Christmas songs, Tln TH); Dec 26 (Christmas service, Open-Air Museum Church); \*Feb 2 (*Leegajus* 20-year anniversary concert [V. Sarv 1991]); \*Feb 13 (Psychological-Neurological Hospital); Feb 15 (lecture-concert, Tln MS #40); \*Mar 15 (Tln MS #40); Mar 21 (spring concert, "Estonia" Theater, Tln); Apr 23 ("Spring in Folk Music," folk arts exhibit opening, Tln TH); \*May 17 ("Jõelähtme Folk Music," Heritage Society meeting, Glehn Castle); May 20 (Pentecost service, Sutlepa Chapel, Open-Air Museum, Tln); \*May 21 ("Jõelähtme Folk Music," Kostivere); Jun 2 (*kannel* group, "Old Town Days," Kuningaaed, Tln).

Performances outside of Estonia: Summer 1991, tour to Caucasus mentioned in ensemble diary.

#### 1991-1992

Ensemble diary is no longer recorded by *Leegajus*. I either attended the events listed below during my stay in Estonia (January 2 to April 1 and July 1-23, 1992), or they were documented by program lists (marked by asterisk\*) or publications.

Article published about *Leegajus* concerts in 1991-1992 [V. Sarv 1992].

Rehearsals: Jan 7, 8, 14, 15, 29; Feb 4, 5, 11, 12 (Igor Tõnurist's birthday celebrated), 25, 26; Mar 3, 4, 10, 11, 18, 24, 25 (Maarja paastu päev celebrated), Mar 31 (farewell party for Zinta and me); Jul 8, 9.

Performances in Estonia: \*Oct 29 ("Jõelähtme Folk Music"); \*Nov 2 (Lagedi Culture Center); \*Nov 19 (Waltzes, Tln TH); \*Dec 17 (Yule games, Tln TH); \*Jan 21 (fiddle music, Tln TH); \*Feb 18 (Men's songs, Tln TH); Feb 28 (Children's Folklore Day, Tln primary school); \*Mar 17 (Game songs, Tln TH); \*Mar 27 (Men's songs, Kiisa Community Hall); \*Apr 21 (Spring concert, Tln TH); \*May 19 ("The Singer Wants Money!" Tln TH); Jul 3-4 — *Viru säru* festival, Lahemaa Park: Jul 3 (unofficial singing and dancing at festival opening); Jul 4 (half-hour concert, Rauaaed, unofficial dancing later in the evening); Jul 13-16 — *Baltica '92* Folklore Festival: *Leegajus* hosted a visiting Swedish ensemble, *Gällmalaget*. Jul 13 (reception for the Swedes at Tln Harbor, bus tour of North Estonia); Jul 14 (several performances at the

Open-Air Museum); Jul 16 (dance music at mass dance party on Town Hall Square); Jul 18 (Setu *Leelopäev* festival, Värskä); Jul 19 (traditional Christian songs, Jaani Church, Tln).

Performances outside of Estonia: \*Sep 1 (Vilnius, Freedom Demonstration, with *Skandinieki* and *Ratilio*); Jan 17-19 (Moscow); June (Scandinavian tour).

### Leegajus: Repertoire

The Leegajus statutes (Haridus- ja Teadusala Töötajate Maja [HTTM] rahvamuusikaansambli

"Leegajus" põhikiri) outline the group's activities and repertoire:

**I The ensemble's purpose and orientation.**

"Leegajus" is an ensemble with a scholarly orientation, and strives to learn, continue and propagate folk music in as genuine a form as possible. [...]

**III Principal forms of activity. [...]**

The principal form of performance is the demonstration with commentary. As a rule, folk clothes are worn during performances. The folk clothes must be as ethnographically accurate as possible.

The scholarly work of the ensemble includes familiarization with the fundamentals of folklore, folk music, and ethnography [i.e. material and customary folklore]. The following are forms of scholarly work pursued by the ensemble:

- a) Study of the course, "Estonian Folk Music," taught at Tallinn State Conservatory.
- b) Reading and summaries of the scholarly literature.
- c) Listening to scholarly lectures and participation in conferences related to the field.
- d) Work with archive materials.

The necessary skills are learned and applied creatively in instrumental music, song, and dance. This activity is pursued in the following forms:

- a) Ensemble group and section rehearsals.
- b) Practice at home.
- c) direct learning from traditional singers and musicians. [...]

In summary, then, all scholarly lectures and publications about folklore, as well as materials collected in the field or found in folklore archives, could and did make up the ensemble's repertoire.

The most frequently used published collections of folksongs appear to have been those edited by Herbert Tampere (1956-65, 1985), Ülo Tedre (1969-1974), and Ingrid Rüütel (1980-83). Igor Tõnurist's fieldwork and research in the folklore archives of the Kreutzwald Museum of Literature in Tartu yielded hundreds of index cards with words and melodies copied by hand. In the past, Jaan Sarv also brought field recordings to the ensemble's rehearsals, and at least two members today (Õie Sarv and Margus Rahuoja) have continued the practice of intensive learning from folk singers in the field. Individual members of the ensemble keep their own handwritten songbooks, and the ensemble has printed a typewritten collection of ballads that members enjoy singing, for example, during long bus trips. A complete survey of these resources and sources of songs is beyond the scope of this Appendix. The following section gives a broad overview of songs in the ensemble's public repertoire.

In 1981, the members of Leegaius took stock of the group's repertoire, and printed the results in the program of their ten-year anniversary concert:

During these past ten years, we have:

- met about 1000 times,
- performed more than 300 times,
- learned about 600 songs, instrumental pieces, dances, games, and narratives,
- recorded 130 pieces for the Estonian Radio archive,
- recorded three of our own records and participated in seven additional recordings,
- performed in more than 30 television broadcasts,
- performed in Moscow, Leningrad, Dubna, Kirish, Voronezh, Barnaul, Minsk, and also in various places in Karelia, Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, the GDR, Sweden and Hungary,
- performed Estonian, Russian, Finnish, Karelian, Votyak, Izhorian, Vepsian, Livonian, Mari, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Belarusian, Swedish and German folk music.

During an interview on March 30, 1992, Ain Sarv estimated that the ensemble's repertoire had grown from 600 pieces in 1981 to about 1,500 in 1992, a figure which seems accurate. The repertoire has been well documented throughout the past two decades, thanks to the thoroughness with which Igor Tõnurist kept records of the group's activities. The standard "diaries" required of amateur ensembles by the Soviet cultural bureaucracy include every rehearsal and performance from 1972 to 1991, with frequent notes about the songs rehearsed or performed. Before concerts, Igor would often type up a small slip of paper with the songs to be performed, and afterwards, he would usually write the date on the wrinkled program list and place it in a folder. The programs were sometimes changed during the performances, as I myself observed during my stay in Tallinn, but the 104 lists presented below, which include a total of at least 750 items (500 songs, 50 game-songs, 180 dances and instrumental pieces, 17 foreign songs) are nevertheless a record of songs in the group's active repertoire on the day of the concert. The repertoire of Leegaius is actually much larger than the program lists would indicate. Different variants of a song, for example, often have the same title, and other songs, although sung often, do not appear in concert programs.

Performances for foreigners (concerts abroad or at international folklore festivals) typically present an overview of folk song and music traditions throughout the territory of Estonia. Concerts for an Estonian public usually present a narrower range of traditions set aside, for example, by genre

("Beautiful Estonian Waltzes"), by geographical region ("Mustjala Folk Music"), by gender of traditional performers ("Men's Songs"), by seasonal customs ("New Year's Celebration/*Nädärisimman*"), or by content ("The Singer Wants Money" — money in Estonian folklore).

In the late 1970's, Leegajus earned a reputation of opposition to the Soviet system when it performed a series of serfs' songs, "If I were the Master of My Master." The program outwardly criticized a feudal society of the past, but the texts gave serfdom a strong likeness to the contemporary Soviet world. A summary of that concert is presented below.

The most prominent songs in the Leegajus repertoire follow the archaic regivärss meter. These include lyrical songs such as "Kui mina hakkas laulemaie" (page 62) and "Laula, laula suukene" (page 63). The experimental nature of the ensemble fosters attempts at improvising new texts based on the traditional rules of composition. "Vihmakõnõ velekene" (page 65) is one such song. The text of "Song of Estonia," presented below, while not improvised during performance, shows how new song variants were created to express the popular demands of mass political demonstrations in the late eighties. Most of the group's songs, however, did not have such overt political content, and many performances shun mass culture. The relatively slow-paced game-songs, for example, are most suitable for groups of twenty or thirty, but not more than one hundred people, and are favorites during and after the intimate "musical evenings of the country folk" which Leegajus organizes each month. One such song, "Sõitsin üle Soome silla," is translated below. Finally, the Leegajus repertoire includes many songs which show that the ensemble harbors a Herderian love for the folksongs of all nations. "Ūsi, ūsi," a Latvian folksong, was first popularized in Latvia in Leegajus performances.



Performances: Names of lead singers, places of song origins etc. are included in parentheses, where they were given on the program lists. Abbreviations: hk. = Hiiu kannel; k. = kannel; labj. = labajala waltz; l. = lõõtspill (accordeon); pp. = parmupill (jew's harp); tp. = torupill (bagpipes); v. = violin.

Performance Program, 4 January 1980 (New Year's Celebration)

Setu: Kulla mama; Kosjamäng; Ilus tütrike; Rikka ja vaesemäng; v.; Setu tantsud; Valge jänes; Lätsi alla lilli; Handa, handa; tp.; Lambamäng; Voortants; Naerimäng; Nõelamäng; Kingsepp; Labj.; Kolonnitants; Väravamäng; t.; Hanemäng; Teotants; Laevamäng; Oldermanni; Neiu valimise mäng; Räditants; Varas; Ma laulaksin; Ätsemäng; Mulgi polka; Nöörimäng; Aga mina küll; Ühel eidel; Krahv sõitis; polka; Taeva minek.

Performance Program, 25 October 1980 (Räpina Middle School)

Laulu võim; Kaege, vele, häälesida; Hällilaulud; Roopillilugu ja sikusarvelugu; Pulmalaul; tp.; Kaks Räpina tantsulugu (v.); Linnulaulude imiteerimine; Linakatkujä; Väike naine; Lauljaid otsitakse; k.; Siga kõndis kõnnu teed; Vanaenamäng; Vana Paabo polka; Polka-masurka; Üks rätsep tuli Rasinast; Kaarasiim (rahvatants).

Performance Program, 31 January 1981

Kust laulud õpitud; tp.; sarvelugu; Kodu kaugel (Saima); Meremehepoeg; Lubja Liisu karjalugu; Viru joru; Siga kõndis; labj.; Pärnu polka; Türgi sõjalaul; Karu-Liisu.

Performance Program, 13 March 1981 Viljandi Middle School

Vaderite "Telu tegemine"; Kui mina hakkas laulema; Kust laps need laulud võtnud; Kaege, vele, häälesida!; Kui vägi Jamburti läks (Halliste); Uigasi mina uigasi (Karksi, 1980); Kuku, käokene (Karksi, 1960); Me oleme kolmeksi sõsare (Saima); Halliste roopillilugu; Karjaste helletused; Öidsilaul (Karksi); Hobusemäng; Teibatants (Halliste, 1908); Kiigelaul (1922, Paistu 1831); Kullimäng (Karksi); Ülemetsalugu (v.); Kuimetsa Kaie (v.); Must naine; Hoiatus ilusa mehe eest; Mehetapja Maie; Kindalugu; Lõikuselaulud; Teopoisilaul (Nuia 1960); Orjatants (Krk 1908); Halliste labj.; Suure-Jaani roopillilugu (1907); Ema viidi teed müüda; Karjalugu (v.); Torup. lugu viiulil; Kus sa käisid, sokukene? (Karksi); Labj.; Käsikivi polka; Paigalejäämise polka; Linnulaulud; Mina mees meremehe poega; Telu tegemine; Lubja-Liisu kosjalugu (k.); Mulgi polka; Valss (lõõtsp.); Mulgimaa laulumänge.

Performance Program, 7 April 1981 (Ten-Year anniversary)

Teretuslaul; k.; Hälli- ja hüp. laulud; Uinu, uinu, ullikene; Sirgu suure masse; Kiigu, kiigekene; vilepill; Kiis, kiis, kass; Ann läts sita; Imä vei nuku; Kust laps laulud sai; Linnulaulud; Vikati luskamine lauluga; Vihtlemine lauluga; Rehepeks; Kubjas ja teomees; hk.; tp.; tp. ja pink; Ämm piu-piu; tp.; Kari kadunud; karjalugu viiuliga; pasun, helletused; Hobusemäng; Teibatants; Ingeri pasun; Vadja pulmalaul; Iisaku kandlelugu; Läti laul; Leedu laul; vilepillid; Vene laul; Soome polka; Lähme kiigele; Halb kiik; Kiigu, kiigekene; Luht Ann (koos tantsuga); Kuppari Muori ja Pärliin; pp.; Kui kätte jõudis liisuaeg; Dvatstatj let služilsja mina; labj.; Karu Liisu polka; Ma läksin metsa kõndima; Mina aga seisan üks siin; Tõstamaa vastulaulud; Pulmaorkester.

Performance Program, 25 June 1981 (Culture Seminar)

Kui mina hakkas laulema; Sirise, sirbikene; Kurv laulik; Ühtelaulmine; Ostetud hääl; Kokku, koorekene; Pagene, põldu, üles; Kiigelaulud; Lahmehe; Kiigu, kiigekene; Halb kiik; Õunapuu; P-J kiigelaul; Hällilaulud; Tõstamaa pulmalaulud; Seiep tuleb võõra aida; Mardilaulud (Kuu); Kodus käimas; Imä vei nuku; Ema haua; Meeste laulud; Kubjas ja teomees; Meremees; Must naine; Sikulaul; Väike naine; Kaege, vele; Jiret-üret; Telu tegemine; Mängulaulud; Telu tegemine; Kullimäng; Hobusemäng; Laevamäng; Suure lamba mäng; Väravamäng; Oldermannimäng; Ätsemäng; Aiamäng; Liiri-lõõri; Imitatsioonid; tp.; Kes sind käskis korja tulla.

Performance Program, 23 December 1981 (Teachers' Hall, "Men's Songs")

Vile- ja roopillilood; Kuri perenaine; Saajalugu (tp.); Tegin orgu odrad haljad; Kosilane laisat talus; Kosilane virgas talus; Vanapagana lehepillilugu (tp.); Viruvalts (hk.); Pankovitsa kirikukellad (k.); Rikas kosilane; Vastastada kargus (instr.); Kus sa käisid, sokukene?; Sikusarvelood; Nekrutiks minek; Kui Prantsus Moskvas käis (v.); Äksi polka (k.); Kui kätte jõudis liisuaeg; Tammani Jass (instr); Labj.; Kui olin mina alles väikene; Metsavilus (k.); Lubja-Liisu kosjalugu (k.); Ööd mina iidan, päevad kõidan; Nüüd algavad noodilood; Pärnu polka (instr).

Performance Program, 4 January 1982 (New Year's Celebration)

Siimumäng; Ätsemäng; tp.; Nõelamäng; Näärikingsepp; Oldermanni; Midrilind; Labakinnas; Laevamäng; Voortants; Väravamäng; Kullimäng; Naerimäng; Äkkemäng; Hobusemäng; Orjatants; Lambamäng; Kerburaputus; Kolonntants; Valge jänes; Lätsi alla; Vanaemamäng; Ühel eidel; Mustlane tüdruk; Suur meri; Neitsi nuppu.

Performance Program, 13 March 1982 (Sonda)

Laul, laulmine: Miks ei laula meie neiud; Laula, kuni elad (Anne); Laulan üle merele (Merike); Laulan ligi külada (Saima); Loomad, Linnud: Hiir nagu härg (Kati); Loomad töö! (Toivo); Kitse ähvardus (Ats); Kitse krapp (Siim); Kurg kündmas (Sulev); Kiigelaulud: Narva kiigelaul (Merike); Kirp kiigel (Kati); Lüttrika: Kannel (Lea); Venda leinamas (Õie); Saks mind soovis (Ain); Kolm metsa (Merike); Kord mul tuli kosjamõte (mehed); Pull hüüdis pinutaga (Õie); lapuliste laulud: Ma pole päris pulmaline (Ain); Miks laulab lapuline (Saima); "Sots-protesti laulud": Teomehe laul (Ain); Orja söök (Sulev); Töölaulud: Siries, sirbike (Merike); Kokku, koorekene (naised); Mängulaulud: Ühel eidel; Venevere külas; Londoni linnas; Samburi linnas; Siimumäng (H-J).

Performance Program, 17 April 1982 (Leningrad)

Mardid; tp. k.; Laula, kuni elad; Kui mina hakkas; Must naine; Narva kiigel; Siimumäng; Kerburaputus; Linnud; Jõhvi polka; Karjalood; Ätsemäng; Muu meestelaul; Mulgi; Viru-Jüri; Kui olen mina; Suur meri; Karu-Liisu; Varese-Autsu; Peterburi; Isa mul ütles; 3-paari; Tõmba-Jüri.

Performance Program, 29 December 1982 (New Year's Celebration)

Käümalugu (valss); nääri sissetoomine; näärimängud; kingsepp; midrilind; nõelamäng; laevamäng; hobusemäng; lambamäng; näärisokkude tulek; sokkude laul; Kaks Piiberi lindu...; Öhtu vaikus katab ilma...; näärikaru; näärihane tulek; Roheline hein; kooditants; Martna ja Kihnu näärilaulud; 3 Kihnu tantsu: Sõrmõlugu; 1-2-3-4; Tõma Jüri; Pillilugu "Leegajuselt"; Poiss Venevere külast...

Performance Program, 9 January 1983

Sabatants (tp.); Krassi tegemine (tp.); Saja, uuta lunda!; 11 hunt!; Hundi ja jänese laul; Jõhvi polka (v.); toa pühkimine; Näärid tuakse sisse; Näärikingsepp; Midrilind; Hobusemäng; Orjatants; k.; Kirbutants; Mulgi polka; Näärihane tegemine, lugemine; Näärisokkude tegemine, tulek; Sokkulaul; Sokkude tants; Kaua mina käisin karjateedal; Linnulaulud; Miks karu pruun on? Näärikaru + tants; Käümalugu; Näärivana; polka; kandlevalss; kolonntants.

Performance Program, 17 September 1983

Öhtu ilu; Peolaal; Mille kokku; tp.; Tiriam tiipan; Kiigelaal (Anu); Miru valts; Labakindalugu; Voortants; Mina mees (Igor); pp.; roopill; Kuku, käokene (Anu); Imä vei nuku (Leida); pasun; Hobusemäng; Ussitants; s.sarv; Pidin Pillele minema (Ain); Lähme ära; Maanantaina; Nüüd algavad; Kirburaputus; Äksi polka; Labj.; Mulgi polka; Ma läksin metsa.

Performance Program, 29 October 1983

Küla mul ütles: kuku, kuku!; Hällilaulud; Imä vei nuku nurme peale; Kui mina hakkas laulema; Mille kokko; Lihtsamate ja karjaste pillide tutvustamine; Helletused ja linnulaulu

imitatsioonid; Hobusemärg; Sabatants tp.; Mõisa nurmed; Kiigelaul; Sokukene; Tõstamaa pulmalaulud; Mustjala labj. (tp. + v.); pp.; Viul eesti rahvamuusikas; Vanem kannel; Setu laul: Isteks ilma veere pääle; Uuem kannel: Äksi polka; Ei lind, ei laul ei ole ma; hk.; Siimumärg; Labj.; Uemad laulud: Suur meri hirmast kohab; Türgi sõja laul; Poiss Venevere külast; Mustlase tüdruk; Ringmärgud; Karu Liisu polka.

#### Performance Program, 22 November 1983 (Leningrad)

Tere, sie tuba; Iiret-iiret; Nõelamärg; Rätsepa valts (v.); pp.; tp.; Kaasitamine; Tilluke naine; hk. tants; Till-lill-lippu; Raabiku; Roopill; Kuku, käokene; Linnulaulud; Sarvelugu; Telu tegemine; Äksi polka (k.); Linakatuja (Saima); Üts rätsep tulli (mehed); Pärlin; Vast. kargus (v.); Milleks kokku; Noodilood; Kirburaputus; Labakindalugu (v.); Viru mage; Pärnu polka; Peterburi linnas; Käimälugu (valss).

#### Performance Program, 26 November 1983 (Vilnius)

Tere, sil; Kaegi, vele; Telu tegemine; Äksi polka; Viru mage; lehepill; Miks ei laula; Jõlus ond; Pulmalaul; Lõolugu; Üks laul; Kihnumua; Kalamies; tp.; pp.; Pärnu polka; Mille kokku; Tilluke naine; roopill; valss; Kui olin mina; Suur meri; Üts ratsep; Till-lill-lippu; Raabiku; 3-paari; 1-2-3-5; All orgus.

#### Performance Program, 28 November 1983

Tererahane rahvas; Kaegi, vele; Mille kokku; Mulgi polka; Viru mage; Till-lill-lippu; Raabiku; Kindalugu; lehepill; Linnulaulud; pasun; Hobusemärg; Ussitants; tp.; pp.; Tired iiret; Pärnu polka; Käimälugu; Ma läksin metsa.

#### Performance Program, 29 December 1983 (New Year's Celebration)

Trumma laul; Kõrtsu-kaarli polka; Pill ei toida; Ätsemärg; Naiste ringtants; Meeste rattatants; Kolonnitants; Till-lill-lippu; Näärid sisse; Kingsepp, rebase paelad; Äkkemärg; Rongisõit; Nõelamärg; Midrilinu märg; Siimumärg; Kirbutants; Labj.; Kandlepolka; Mölder mats; Talunaiseks ma ei taha; Mustlase tüdruk; Mulgi polka; Valss ja polka; Näärisokud, tervitus; Tammani Jass-polka; Ma läksin metsa kõndima; Nääriloomad; Targa rehealune.

#### Performance Program, 16 March 1984

Värvamärg; Hüüa, pilli; tp. tants; tp.; Jõlus ond...; Milleks kokku; Setu kargus (k.); Viru mage (k.); Karjalood; Hobusemärg; Roopill; Viltu; Joodikul mehel; Must naine; Lähme ära; pp.; hk.; Till-lill; Ema mull ütles; Labj.; Mulgi polka; Ei lind (k.); polka; Käimälugu; Poiss Venevere...

#### Performance Program, 25 May 1984

Peenid sõrmed; Teotants; Jõhvi polka; Üüdvad; Meremees; Imä vei nuku; roopill; Kuku; Linnud, lehepill; Äksi polka; Setu laul; hk. + Viru v.; Sarv; Hovusem.; Ussit.; tp.; Telu teg.; Mulgi polka; Labj.; Karu-Liisu p.; Ma kõndsin vainul; Seesam, Jakk; Ei lind, ei laul; Käimälugu; Ma läksin metsa.

#### Performance Program, 5 october 1984 (Sõprusühingus)

Õhtust, õhtust (Kristin); Ranna Jaani polka; Sikusarv (pasun); tp.; Rattaslaul; Voortants; Jõhvi polka (v., pp.); pp.; Pidin pillele minema; Telu tegemine; Mulgi polka; Viru magedad; Noodilood; Kirbutants; Vanatüdrukulugu (v.); Maanantaina; Ei lind, ei laul; Pärnu polka; Seltskondlik osa; Käimälugu; Ma läksin metsa; Isa mul ütles; Voortants; jne.

#### Performance Program, October 1984 (Sweden)

Tere, teie tuba (naisrühm); Meeste peolaul; teotants; Kindalugu (v.); tp.; Ema viis lapse heinamaale (naisrühm); Linnulaulude imiteerimine; Roopillilugu; Meremees (meesrühm); Kurb laulik (solist); Kiigelaul (naisrühm); pp.; Voortants; Põimik karjaste pillilugudest ja lauludest; Hobusemärg;

Teibatants; Telu tegemine (naisrühm); Mulgi polka; Viru joru (k.); Kergotamine (setu pulmalaul); Põimik eestirootslaste folkloorist (Mänge, tantse, pillilugusid); Mesilane (leedu rahvalaul); Vorobjovo mäed (vene rahvalaul); Lehtede hääl (läti rahvalaul); Noodilood (meesrühm); Oole-Leena valts; Pärnu polka; Ma läksin metsa kõndima (laulumäng); Pulmaorkester.

#### Performance Program, 21 November 1984

Õhtu ilu; Peenid sõrmed; Teotants; Jõhvi polka; pp.; tp.; Sikusarv; Hütüdvad hülged; Imä vei nuku; lehepill; Äksi polka; Kergotamine; Mulgi polka; Viru joru; Maanantaina; Kirburaputus; Pärnu polka; Käimälugu; Ma läksin metsa.

#### Performance Program, 27 December 1984 (New Year's Celebration)

Värvamäng; Voortants; Ringitants; Taevaminek; Näärid tuuakse sisse; pühkimine; Passi löömine, Kingsepp, Rebasepaelad; Haraka hüppamine; Kiitsakas; Nõelamäng; Ätsemäng; Sikusarv (Ai tuli tuli); Rikas ja vaene; tp.; Hobusemäng; Kolonnitants; Varas; Till-lill-lippu; Polka; Siimumäng; Laevamäng; Lambamäng; Käimälugu; Lõbus lesk; Seesam; 1-2-3-4; Mäe otsas kalju lossis; Roheline hein; Rootsi laulumäng; Polka; Õhtu vaikus katab ilma; Haigejala valss + polka; Näärisokkude tulek, õnnesoovid; N. sokkude tantsimine torupilliga; Tõmba Jüri.

#### Performance Program, 2-3 March 1985 (Vormsi/Haapsalu)

Kada; Palju sõnu; Ostetud hääl; tp. valts (v.); Tiriam/Siit; tp.; Hiidlase tp. (l.); Hütüdvad hülged (Rid); Tuisu neiu (Kar, Rid); Sarv, pp.; Vati jõgi (Vig, 1884); Paarimäng (vig); Läänemaa pulmalaul; Pruudilugu (Kar); Kõrtsu-Kaarli p.; Viinalaulud; Ma kõndsin vainul (Kad); 3 labajalga; Ranna-Jaani p.; Rõude jõululaulu; Ja see 21 (Kirbla); Siimumäng; Pakri tp.

#### Performance Program, 17 May 1985

Sulevi laul; Sikusarv; tp.; tp. valts (V.); Rattas laul; lehepill, linnud; Läänemaa tantsud; pp.; Jõhvi polka; Kergotamine; hk.; Mulgi polka; Viru magedad; Noodilood; Kirbutants; Vanatüdruk (v.); Seesam + Jakk; Karu-Liisu polka.

#### Performance Program, 5 June 1985 (Old Town Days)

Pasun; Õhtu ilu; Kandlemäng; Labj. (t. + v.); Jõhvi polka; Sõitsin pikka linnateeda; Ma lään linna liksatelles; Tallinnas tantsu ei tahetud; Teotants; hk.; Laevamäng; Viru magedad; Nekruti laul; Türgi laul; Talutütreks ma ei taha; Mäe otsas; polka.

#### Performance Program, 5 July 1985 (Midsummer Celebration, Altja; Together with Lahemaa Ensemble. Only Leegajus pieces are listed here).

Tee ilu; Õhtu ilu; Halb kiik; Kiigel kartlik; Lähmehe kigele; Oh minu kulla kiigutajad; Tuim neiu; tp.; labj.; Ämm piu-piu; Oh te kuldsed kiigutajad; Värvamäng; Tallinnas tantsu ei tahetud; Kuusalu voortants; Pärliline; Raabiku; hk.; Kutse jaanitulele; Tulge jaaniku tulele; Lääme vällä Jaani kaima; Voortants; Nukumäng; Jooksumäng; Telu tegemine; Kolonnitants; Kullimäng; Hobusemäng; Setu laul; Mulgi polka (+ publik); Viru mage; Kord mul tuli kosjamõte; Varas; Inglisjakk; Jõhvi polka; valss; 1-2-3; Peterburi linnas; Ma kõndsin vainul; Teotants.

#### Performance Program, 17 July 1985

Vanaeidmäng; tp.; Linnud; pp., Jõhvi polka; Sulevi laul; Joeli laul; tallinnas tantsu...; Teotants; Viru magedad; Talutütreks ma ei taha; Mulgi polka; Pärnu polka; Mäe otsas.

#### Performance Program, 15 November 1985

Palju sõnu; Ostetud hääl; tp.; tp. laulud; Mõrsja amasaatmine; Auge uksed; Teotants; tp. valts (v.); Kiigelaul; Pulma minda kutsutie; Siimu mäng; 3 Läänemaa tantsu; pp., sarv; Lindulaulud; Lindude õlu; Viltu; Jumal aga hoidku; Pärnu linna; lõõtspill; Kõrtsu-Kaarli polka; Kandlevalts; Talunaiseks ma ei...; Pruudilugu; Ma kõndsin vainul.

Performance Program, 5 December 1985 (Moscow)

Teretus; Palju sõnu; Kaega vele; Ostetud hääl; Kõokiri; Linnulaulud; Lindude õlu; Mede härral; roopill; Ema haua; Õie itk; Itk viiulil; Roopill; Jõelähtme kiigelaul; Kiigel kartlik; Saks mind soovis; sarv; Kuusalu voortants; tp. + laulud; Kui metsa... (v.); Hiidlase... (lõõts); pp.; Kiitsakatants; Telu tegemine; Mille noroh; Kargus-kannel; Siimumäng; Siimumäng (Rootsi); Pakri tp.); Minu ema; Vormsi tantsulaulud; Polas; Kirbutants; Labajalg (v.); Äksi polka (kannel); Viru magedad; Kord mul tuli...; Talunaiseks; Mäe otsas; Ei lind, ei laul; Pärnu polka; Kodu tunnused.

Performance Program, 12 December 1985

Õhtust; tp. + laulud; Rattas laul; Voortants; Jõhvi polka + pp.; Pidin pillele (Hiia häh); Telu tegemine; Mulgi polka; Viru magedad; Hiia-hä; Talunaiseks; Vanatüdruk (v.); Noodilood; Kirbutants; Ei lind, ei laul; Mäe otsas; Pärnu polka.

Performance Program, 17 January 1986

Patsu tee; Õhtu ilu; Imed; Väravamäng; Lää tantsud; tp. valts (v.); tp. lood; pp.; Lind õlu, Viltu; Jumal (Setu laul); Tal tantsu ei tah.; Teotants; Jõhvi polka; Armast. laulud; Rikka-vaese mäng; Siimumäng; Laevamäng; Lambamäng; Kolonntants; Kirbut; Viru maged; Talunaiseks; Mulgi p.; Kiitsakas.

Performance Program, 31 January 1986

Palju sõnu (Reet); Kirbuga kirikusse (Ain); Hüüa, pilli (Anne); lp., pp.; Oiu, hoidke minda (Saima); Lää tantsud; Tori labj.; Kõrtsu-Kaarli polka.

Performance Program, 22 March 1986 ("Estonian Folk Music", THM)

Laula, suukene! (naisrühm); Tallinnasse laulma; Oitsilaul/mehed; puhkpillid; linnulaulud; Kullimäng; tp. + laulud; Kiigelaul; lõikuslaul; Hobusemäng; pp.; Rikka- vaese mäng; Sokulaul/mehed; Orjatants; v. Labj.; Kindalugu (v.); hk.; Mulgi polka; Ei lind, ei laul; Labj. (instr.); Polka (instr); Kord mul tuli kosjamõte; Ühel eidel; Mustlase tüdruk; Paigalejäämise polka/lõõts.

Performance Program, 29 March 1986 (Viljandi)

Kevad laul; Linnud; Sokulaul-karksi; Laulud tööl õpitud (K-J); tp. laulud, v. tp.; Tulge jaanile (K-J); Nukumäng; Uigasi, mina (Krk); Kullimäng; Sarv; Halliste labj. (v.); pp.; Kasvatus asjatu (Pai); Mede härral (Tar.); Orjatants (Hall); Jäätüki lugu (v.); Meremehe poeg (Halliste); Telu teg.; Mulgi polka; Lõõtsa labj.; Savikoja venelane; S-J polka (k.); Labj. (k. + v.); Mölder Mats; Mustlase tüdruk (K-J); Paigalejäämise polka.

Performance Program, 22 May 1986 (Linnahall) and 1 June 1986 (Toompea)

Tere sie tuba; Peolaul (Aint-taint); Palju sõnu; Tallinnas tantsu ei...; Peenid sõrmed; Kirbutants (Kuusalu voortants); tp. valtser; tp.; Tõbine naine; Neiungal; Hea mees pilliga; Jumal aga hoidku; Siimumäng (+rootsi keeles); hk. (Võrmsi t. lood); Mina mor ja Ruhnu pulmatants; Sikusarv; Hobusemäng; Orjatants; Kergotamine (Rikka-vaese mäng); Jõhvi p. (v. + pp.); Telu tegemine; Mulgi polka; Viru magedad; Karu-Liisu polka; Kord mul tuli kosjamite (Türgi sõjalaul); Talunaiseks ma ei taha; Vanatüdruk (v.); Maanantaina; Ma läksin metsa kõndima; Ja see 21; valtser.

Performance Program, 1 June 1986

Lauluga Võidu väljakult; Pasun; Palju sõnu; Tallinnas tantsu ei tahetud; Peenid sõrmed löid pilli; Läänemaa tantsud; tp. valtser (v.); tp.; Tõbine naine; Jumal aga hoidku; Siimumäng; hk.; sikusarv; Setu laul; Hobusemäng; Orjatants; Jõhvi polka (v. + pp.); Viru magedad (2 ja 3); Karu-Liisu polka (v. + k.); Türgi sõjalaul; Talunaiseks ma ei taha; Vanatüdruk (v.); Ma läksin metsa kõndima; Kaini valtser (l. + v.); Käimalugu.

Performance Program, 11 June 1986 (Old Town Days, Tallinn)

Ingeri pasun; Tallinnasse laulma; Tallinnas tantsu ei tahetud; Kirbutants; tp. valts (v.); tp. + pp.; Sõitsin pikka linnateeda; Ilus neiu linnas; Oi oi, vambola poisid; l.; Paigalejäämise polka (l.); Oi mis elu; Linnakaupmehe tütr.; Reinlender.

Performance Program, 5 July 1986

Ilu laulud; Olli ma üü; Kergotamine; tp.; Ätsemäng; Teotants; Valts—v.; Jõhvi p.; Linnud; Sarvelugu; Karjalugu; Ilus neiu linnas; Kosilane laisas talus; Kes sind käskis kosja tulla; Vanatüdruk (v.); Ühel eidel kaks ilusat tütar; Äksi polka; Labj.; Telu tegemine; Pruudilugu (l.); Ei lind; Aga oi mis lõbu; Reinlender; Ma läksin metsa.

Performance Program, 2 August 1986 Setu Leelopäev, Obinitsa

Miks on kurb kosilane; Olin ma õõ üleval; Meeste peolaul; Kolm venda; Milleks meid kokku kutsuti; Tilluke naine; Rikas kosilane; Kadrill ja Neljakese Kargus; Kargus (k.); Nõrsla ikmine (sarvepill); Tantsulugu (sarvepill); Vahetusega reinlender (k.).

Performance Program, 9 August 1986 (Kihnu)

Õhtu ilu; Hüüdvad hülged; Meremees; Vee võetud vend; Saks soovis soldatiks; Kindalugu (v.); tp.; Kui kätte jõudis liisuaeg; Pruudivaltser; Kiitsakatants; Telu tegemine; Mulgi polka; Oole-Leena valts; Pärnu polka; Talunaiseks ma ei taha; Linnakaupmehe tütreke.

Performance Program, 10 August 1986 (Kihnu)

Tere, tede tuba; Noodilood; Ätsemäng; Pakri tp. lugu; Siimumäng; Varesetants (v.); Ruhnu pulmalaul ja tants; Äksi polka (k.); Pärnu-Jaaguپی labj.; Läänemaa tantsud.

Performance Program, 1 September 1986 (Altja)

Väravamäng; Laulud tööil õpitud; Ma laulaksin; Teotants; tp.; pp.; sikusarv; Kirbuga kirikusse; Kiigelaul (Anne); Väike naine; Hobusemäng; Kirbutants (v.); lõõts; Kiitsakas; laulumäng.

Performance Program, 7 October 1986 (Wedding pieces. Notes include commentary in Russian).

Vihitlemine; Avage ukseid (L-Nig); Kas teil o seda oosta?; Pruudi otsimine (v., Kad); Seip tuleb võõraida! (Kuu); Neitsikene, noorukene; Viiakse lauda; Mustj. vaimulik; Peiu õpetus (Kose, H-J); Jumal aga hoidko; Mõrsja lumast (Tst); Pulmarong; Tõst. vastulaulud; Vale pruut; Pruudilugu; Tammani Jan.

Performance Program, November 1986 (Armenia)

Mustj. vaimulik; Aint-taint; Hea hääl; Laulud tööil õpitud; Ma laulaksi kui tohiksi; Teotants; tp.; tp. valts (v.) lab. tantsuga; Kindalugu (v.); pp.; Linnud (Kristin, Kukki, Kana, Leida, Ain, Öie, Külli, Ain); hk.; Kiigel kartlik (Erika); Kr. kiigelaul; Must naine (mehed); Kergotamine (Telu tegemine); Kadrill; Jõhvi polka (v. + pp.); Õllelaul; Kõrretants; Äksi polka (k.) (=Mulgi polka); Viru magedad; Oole-leena valts; Ma läksin metsa kõndima; Kirbutants; Pärnu polka.

Performance Program, 27 December 1986 (Language and Literature Institute, New Year's Celebration; paper is very wrinkled)

Torupill; Jõululaul; Muinasj; Kaidi parm.; pp.; Kalamies; polka (v.); Liiri-lääri; Muinasj.; Siimumäng; Hobusemäng; muinasj.; Lambam.; Vengerka; Keigapire tants; Muinasj; Hanemän.; Linnuiauuiud; Kuiliimasi (?); Hobusemäng; kandle; labj. (instr.); Kuningamäng; Sokud, karu; Sikulaul; Lõpulugu (polka).

Performance Program, 28 January 1987

Nekruti laul; Kui mina hakkan (Tapurla); Saaja marse (Leesi, 1911); Ämm piu-piu; Teotants; Nõelamäng; Midrilind (mäng); Aiamäng; Laevamäng; Kuppari-Muori (mäng); Kindalugu; Meremees

(Hlj); Vee võetud (Hlj); Saks mind soovis; Kolju kabel; Sarvelood (1913); Linnud; Roopill; Ema haul (Loobu, 1914); pp. Piru polka (Leesi 1935); 2 kiigelaulu (Juminen-Tapurla 1938); Hea ja kuri mees (Vanaküla 1912); Kosilane laisas talus (Ohepalu 1969); Kes sind käskis; Kord mul tuli; Pulmamars (v.) (Ed-Aaman, Leesi 1913); Noorik lahkub (Tapurla 1938); Sabatants; Voortants; Põhja-Eesti tantsulood: tp. Labj; Reinlender; Polka; Viru joru, Viru mage; Tursamäe polka; 20 let; Roheline hein; Raabiku (Viinistu 1936).

Performance Program, 28 March 1987 (Overview concert for Estonian representatives at Baltica 1987)

Peenid sõrmed; Kui mina hakkas; Teotants; Labj (v. duett); Sikusarve lugu; Saks mind soovis soldatisse; Kergotamine (Ostetud hää); tp.; Äksi polka (k.); Viru mage; Sm.lood; Pruudilugu (ork.); Ma kõndsin vainul.

Performance Program, 18 April 1987 (Tartu, Hellero 15-year anniversary)

Lauliku lapsepoli; Mustjala lastelaulu; Hüüdvad hülged; Minu ema (eesti-rootsi rahvalaul); tp. lugu; Labj. (v.); Aga oi mis lõbu...; Linnakodaniku tütreke; Pärnu-Jaagupi labj. (instr.); Pärnu polka (instr.); Setu kadrill; Keiga pere tants; Mustjala tantsulaul.

Performance Program, 26 April 1987 (Republic-wide overview concert)

Ostetud hää (Sangaste, eesti rahvalaul); Oleks mul aga unes öeldud (Põide, eesti rahvalaul); Väike poisilutikas (Kihnu viiulilugu); Kevadlindude imiteerimine; Kägu kukub, maa kumiseb (vadja rahvalaul); Kägu kukkus aias (leedu sutartine); Labajalavalss Mustjalast (v.); Eesti maarahva labj. (Pärnu-Jaagupi, instr.); Keigapere tants Saaremaalt.

Performance Program, 31 May 1987 Town Hall Square, Tallinn, and Seitme Linnuse Park

Instruments; Else laulge; Näiokekõsõ; Hannalaul; Kena kevade; Linnulaulu; Jutt, Kägu, laste käolaul; Loomad töö; Hobusemäng (lapsed); Tallinnas tantsu ei tahetud; Siimumäng; Roheline hein; Mustjala madal; Jõhvi polka (v.); Keigapere tants; Lõõtsalugu; Meestelaul; Kõrretants; Voortants (l.).

Performance Program, 3 June 1987

Õhtu ilu; Paaris rong; Peolaul; Ma laulaksin; Tallinnas tantsu; Siimumäng; Labj. (v.); Minu paigu pillisepp; Hollandi sulane; Sarv; Ösujate õnne see oli; tp. (Mustjala madal kõrge); pp.; Ingeri-soome laul; Maanantaina; Äksi polka; Viru mage; Ma kõndsin vainul; Must-polka; Pruudilugu; Kõrretants.

Performance Program, 13-14 June 1987 (Program presents songs recently published in the book, Mustjala regilaulud. Kingisepa rajoon).

Laula, suukene; Hea hää; Valik lastelaule; 2 lõikuslaulu; Pasunalugu; Teomehe nädalapäevad; Viru lõss—tp.; Neli jutustavat laulu: Oma ema ja võõras ema; Tütarde tapja; Lunastatav neiu; Kodus käimas; Sikusarvelugu; Hobusemäng; Suure-Tõllu labj. (v.); Kuningamäng; Valik laule noortest, kosjadest, abielust; Valik pulmalaule; Mustjala rong; Mustjala madal ja kõrge-tantsud; Polka (v.); Voortants "Peenid sõrmed.."; Imelik on ilmaelu (meestelaul); Labj. (v.); Õllelaul; Kõrretants; Keigapere tants.

Performance Program, 10-12 July 1987 (Viru säru festival)

Ma laulaksin; Eeti mind äälest; Ösujate õnn; Lõikuslaul; pasun; Teomehe nädal; Kõrretants; pp.; Õllelaul; sarvelugu; tp.; Hollandi sulane; Ilus neiu; Minu peigu; polka (v.); Peenid sõrmed; Mustjala madal/kõrge; Keigapere.

Performance Program, 22 October 1987 (Celebration of 350-year anniversary of the publication of H. Stahl's Estonian grammar, Emakeele Selts).

Laula suukene; Hea hääl; tp.; Teomehe...; Õlle laul; sarv; Õsujate õnn; pasun; lastelaulud; Oma ema; Tütarde pp.; Minu peigu; Hollandi sulane; Ilus neiu; Lunastav neiu; Ommikul kui võtsin; v.; Keigapere tants.

Performance Program, 28 October 1987

Õised orjad; Mõisad külas; Põrgu mõis; Saks ei künna; Orjusest ostja; Mõisast pääs; Mede mõisal laia laane; Kupja sajatus; Kupjas ja teomees; Hiire seljas teole; Teomehe nädalapäevad; Meie herr oli rikas mees; Orjatants; Soised maad; Kätemaks sakstele; Puhu tuuli; Põleta mõis; Mõisnike karistamas; Ole me vaesed; Meie kaks moonameesta.

Performance Program, 18 November 1987 (Middle School #10)

Tere, tede tuba; v.; Peolaul; Õie karjalaul; roopill; Ei tohi koju minna; Õidsi laul; Laulan ligi külada; tp.; Rikka- vaese mäng; Hobusemäng; v.; pp.; Täide tünnid; Sirise, sirbikene; Nurka, noored mehed; Telu tegemine; Kosilane virgas talus; Hea ja kuri mees; Lähme ära siita maalta; Laisas talu; Mul oll tillo; v.; Vanaeidemäng; Siimumäng; Peeni sõrmed; Kui mina hakkas; Nüüd olen mina leeris; Kadriksükkel.

Performance Program, New Year's Celebration 1987

Värvamäng; Hopper-valtser (v.); Londoni linnas...; Nüüd olen ma leeris käind; polka (v.); Toome näärid sisse, nagu vanasti tehti!; N. sisse; näärilaul; Kingsepp, Reb, paelad, harakas (+ Kiitsaka tants); Kullimäng, Nõelamäng; Hanemäng (lapsed); Lambamäng; Hobusemäng; pp.; Aiamäng; Mustjala madal ja kõrge; Ristitants; Atsemäng; Kuningamäng; Laevamäng; Siku polka; Varas; Labj.; Vengerka (lapsed); Krakovjak; Kuningamäng; Jõuluvalss; Takkalaadi; Ja see 21; Viru mage.

Performance Program, 1 January 1988 (Melbourne, Australia)

Laula, laula; Peenid sõrmed; Ratalaul; Teotants; Kindalugu; Siku sarv; Torupill; h.k.; Kiigela; Oleks mul aga unes öeldud; p.p.; setu laul Tõitõ tõi (Mille kokku); v. Kui metsa kaie; Ei lind, ei laul, k.; Kõrtsu-Kaarli (v+k+leht); Savikoja venelane.

Performance Program, 26 February 1988 Aravete (TV, April 1988)

Simmanipolka; Lainetel; Olgu mees, kes laulab vastu; Imed; Tee ilu; Õunapuu; Nuttav tamm; Tähemõrsja; Loomad tööl; Sarvelugu; Karjalugu (v.); Kaevul kosija; Kes sind; Poiss Venevere külast; Jõhvi polka (v., pp.); Poiss sõidab laulma; Tallinnas tantsu ei tahetud (rattas); Laulud tööl õpitud; Ristitants/lauluga; Sabatants (t.p.); Teotants; Kindalugu (v.); Ätsemäng; Rikka-vaese mäng; Karavuut; Torupillilugu; Kui metsa kaie (v.); Torupilli vok. imit.; h.k. + Vormsi tants; Peenid sõrmed; Siimumäng; Vanatüdruku lugu (v.); Hunt aia taga (laul, p.p.); Suure lamba (mäng); Kolonnitants; Mustjala madal; Noodilood; Labajalg viguritega; Kiburaputus; Pruudilugu; Viru magedad; Kandlepolka; Pärnu-Jaagupi labj.

Performance Program, 18 March 1988 ("Folksongs from our country and others")

Poiss sõidab laulma; Tallinnas tantsu ei tahetud; Imed; Õpilla; Omaksed ajavad ära; Ehted kadunud; Lind lobutamas; Ema haal; Karjaselaul roopillil; Marjalaul; Hobune kadunud; Lõolugu (v.); Kolm õuna; Kodus käimas; Lunastav neiu (ingeri laul); Siimumäng; Vanatüdruku lugu (v.); Tsükkel laule "Teenisin mina rikast meest" (neist üks vene rahvalaul); Torupilla "Kui vägi Jamburki läks"; Sõjamees; Venna sõjalugu; Nekrutilaul; Saks mind soovis soldatiks; Kui Pranstus Moskvast käis (instr); Valik setu laulumänge; Setu nelikväärsid-tšastuškad.

Performance Program, 20 April 1988 (Finnish-Swedish literature evening, Kirjanike maja).

Pakri t.p.; Varesetants Osmussaarelt; Mina mor; Siimumäng; Vihterpalu tantsuviis, munnharpa; Lastelaulud, sarv; Daenbrout; Voortants; Tantsulaulud; Ruhnu p. laul; Polas.



Performance Program, 24 April 1988 (Narva, Choir festival)

Laula, suukene; Hea hää!; Aiut-taiut tahtsin laulda; Ostetud hää!; roopillilugu; Lauliku lapsepõli; Kui mina hakkam laulemaie; lehepill, linnulaulud; Rikka- ja vaesemäng; Kurb kosilane; Karjalugu-v.; Sarve- ja parmupillilood; Kiige laul; Hea ja kuri mees; Neiunälg; Siimumäng; Torupillilugu, tants "Mustjala madal"; Viuliduet; Lõõtspillipolka; h.k. lugu; Kord mul tuli kosja mõtte; Aga oi mis lõbu ilma peal; Peterburi uhkes linnas; Kortsu-Kaarli polka; Viru mage; Iisaku k. lugu; Kõrretants; Kaini valts; Ilus poiss.

Performance Program, 5 May 1988

Õhtu ilu; Kena kevad; Imä vei nuku; Kägu, lehepill, linnud; p.p.; Loomad töö!; Siiro, sitakõnõ; sarv; Hüüdvad hülged; v.— Lõolugu; Tähe mõrsja; Hannalaul; Setu roopill; Õie karjalaul; tp.; Kolm metsa; Kena tammekene; Kiitsakas; marko lõõts; k.; Vambola poisid; Kuhu me lähme; Olliiks ma.

Performance Program, June 5 and 7 1988 (Dances)

Three opening pieces, various instruments; Kolonnitants; Käümalugu ja Sõrmõlugu; Roheline hein; p.p. polka; v.; Ilus poiss; Savikoja venelane; Lõõtsa polka; Labj.; Voortants; Aga oi mis lõbu oli; Linnakodaniku tütreke; Ja see 21; Takkalaadi polka; Hopper-valtser; Tõmba-Jüri; Õhtu vaikus katab ilma; Mu isamaa armas.

Performance Program, 23 June 1988 (Midsummer celebration, Vetla)

Õhtu ilu; Palju sõnu; Eeti mind; Tee-ilu; Õunapuu; Meestelood; (instruments); Tulge jaaniku tulele (Anne); Tulge jaaniku tulele (Saima); Ristitants — Oi, oi hoidke minda; Teotants; v.; Liigotamine; Nukumäng; Väravamäng.

Performance Program, 12 September 1988 (Television program about Leegajus, recorded in the Open Air Museum.

2 Hällilaulu ja lapse hüpetamine; Setu muinasjutt "Hunt ja emis"; Sikusarvelugu; Kui mina hakkam laulemaie; Kosilane laisas talus; h.k. lugu; various instruments; Äksi polka; Ütelge sõnnu kel on inämb; Karavuuta; Isteks ilma veere peale; v. duett; Sinuda mina küll ei taha— polka; Mustjala madal (tants); Ilus poiss (laulumäng); Polka, kelladega lõõtspill; kaini valtser.

Performance Program, 7 October 1988 (Pärnu)

Väravamäng; Kui mina hakkam; Tere tede tuba; Küla mul ütel; Õhtu ilu; Pärnu-Jaagupi kiigel; Õised orjad; Lahti laauksed; Ema haua!; Liiri lõõri; (various instruments); Õistisängid; Arg kosilane; Vares ütles: vaak; Kiitsakas; Kui metsa kaie labj. v.; Torupill; Vändra kiigelaul; Must naine; Ära usu poisi juttu; Jumal aga hoidku; p.p.; Tõst. pruudi lainastus; Siisi-salejuu; Vastu laulud; Rätsepa valtser; Odra-kaera tuli; Kiigelaul; Kena siidisulge lindu; Külamees kündis; Seesam; Jakk; Kihnu v.; Neiu läks linna; Kalamees; k.; P.-J. labj; Pärnu polka; Vana-valts k.; Valts Torist; Mede eit läks eina; Kasari laulupõrand; All orgus; Teenin siin; Takkalaadi polka; Sõrmõlugu; Karu-Liisu p.

Performance Program, 22 October 1988 (Kaunas)

Tere, tuba; Aiut-taiut; Kui mina hakkam; Ema haua!; Ima viidi; Hinge sandid; (various instruments); Meri õue all; Kosilane; Voulimäng; Hanemäng; Kiitsakas; Aja mäng; (four illegible pieces); h.k.; Siimumäng; Sim-salaju; Täide tunnii; Muts. labj. v; Lää tants (illegible); Õige ja (illegible); Kergakene; Kaini valtser; v. polka; Viru mage; Marko (illegible); Aga oi mi lõbu; Kui olin mina alles; Õhtu vaikus.

Performance Program, 21 November 1988 (Middle School #49)

(Repeat of songs from "Saaksin ma saksa sundijaks", as below)

Performance Program, 30 November 1988 (Pärnu)

Kolonntants; Käamalugu + Sõrmõlugu; Roheline hein; Mäe otsas; p.p; Joeli v. lugu; Ilus poiss; Savikoja venelane; Marko lõõtsalugu; Noodilood; Labj; Viru mage; Voortants; Aga oi mis lõbu; Linna kodaniku tütreke; All orgus; Takkaladi polka; Hopper valtser; Tõmba Jüri; Öhtu vaikus; Mu isamaa armas.

Performance Program, 12 February 1989 (Linnahall)

Ei takista vallid; Ranna-J. polka; v. duett; Kodoimä; Kiigelaul; Savikoja venelane; Mu isamaa armas.

Performance Program, 15 April 1989 (Tõstamaa)

Laula suukene; Küla mul ütél laps; Poiss sõidab laulma; Kui mina hakkam (lapsed); Öhtu ilu; sarv; Loomine; Kena siidisulge; Kiitsakas; Hää- kiigelaul; linnud; Öised orjad; Nekruti laul; v. Prantsus; 1. Prantsus; Kindalugu (v.); Kui metsa kaie (v.); Must naine; Vares ütles; Jumal aga hoidku; Tõst. pulmalaulud; Voortants; Pulmaorkester; Tammani Jan; Pärnu polka; Takkalaadi polka; Seesam; Teenin siin siin seisan mina Saksa; All orgus; Sõrmõlugu; Varas.

Performance Program, 14 May 1989 (Swing Celebration)

Kuupaiste ei riku kuube; Nuttev tamm; Tee ilu; Tulge kiigele (Saima); Ärges mult mune küsige; Kes see siia kiige teinud (Reet); Siga siia; Kiik heas kohas (Liina); Jõe. K. laul (Anne); Kiigel kartlik (Erik); Oh te kuldseid, kiigutajad (Kr.); Laske mul, ma paluksin; Kolm metsa (Anu); Külli kiige laul (Maa); Külli kiige laul (Kod.); Anu kiige laul (Lutsi); Kiigu kiigekene (Leida); Öunapuu (Reet); Kiigelaul P.-J (Saima); Kiigelaul (Saima); Heinast hobu (Siim); Kallis kiik (Harja-Jaani) (Tiiu); Imemaa (Kr.).

Performance Program, 14 May

Kevadelaul; Imä vei nuku; Memme vaev (Anu); Kasvates asjaja (Öie); Ema õpetus (Lei); Neid om viisi (Öie); Ema haua (Küll); mängud (illegible).

Performance Program, 31 May 1989

Peenid sõrmed; Kui mina hakkam; Setu peolaul; Telu tegemine; Oleks mul unes õeldud; pp.; Mustjala madal; Kirbutants; v. duett; Kõrtsu-Kaarli polka; Viru magedad (k.); Marko (l.); Siimümäng (eesti); Siimümäng (rootsi); lastelaulud; Minu lind; Meeste laul; Vormsi tantsulood; Ruhnu pulmalaul; Pälas.

Performance Program, 5-6 July 1989 (Baltika Festival)

Värava mäng; Ätsemäng; Tuim neiu; Noodilood; pp.; hk.; sarv; Mustjala madal tp. + v.; Kuusalu voortants; v.; Lätsi alla lilli (Kergotamine); Kõrtsu-Kaarli polka; Keigapere tants; Öhtu vaikus; Mäe otsas; Kõrretants.

Performance Program, 21 October 1989 (Hõimupäev— Finno-Ugric Day, Middle School #8).

Kaage, vele; Laulan ligi külada; La mie laulan (Reet); ingeri laul (Kristin); truba; käolaul; Kui ma kasvasin; Vadja kiigelaul; Karjala kandlelugu; Karjala pulmalugu; ungari; Maanantaina; Kõrtsu-Kaarli polka; Marko lõõts.

Performance Program, 2 December 1989 (Recording session, Christmas program of religious folk music)

Kodused laulud: Setu palvelaul; Võlva palvelaul; Setu palvelaul; Jeesuse näljasurm; Jeesuse kannatamine ja surm; Sõit Kirikusse, Kiriku laulud: Suur valgus tõusis taeva all (Petlemmas); Santide laul; Oh laulgem südamest jõulukoraal; Ma tulen taevast ülevalt; Önnista ja hoia.

Performance Program, 21 December 1989 (Teachers' House, Womens' Salon).

Lähme teeda tipulista (Vig 1876-81); Oodi ma püha tulevet (1929, Paistu); Väsinud lõikaja (Kuu, 1911); Neitsi maarjakuld (Kihnu, sõidulaul); Jeesuse kannat ja surm (Saima, Kad 1843); Jeesuse näljasurm; Ristitud mets (Jõhvi 1905); Ilma parandamine; (Lugemised); Küll targad tõttasid Petlemin see kauni tähe poole (Pärnu 1908); Ma tulen taevast; See jõulupäev on rõomust suur; Oh laulgem südamest; Önnista ja hoia; Kui hakkas mina minema.

Performance Program, 17 February 1990 (Torma)

Karjalood; Lõikuselaul (Saima); Haned kadunud (Anu); Kubjas ja teomees (Margus); Ori läheb ära (Saima); Kiigelaul (Küllli); tp.; Ai tuli (mehed); Loomad laadal (Margus); vilepill; Nutust järv (Küllli); Ema haua (Reet); Kaasa ei pane kasvama (Leida); Kuld naine (Siim); Kortsilaul (Igor); Sinuda... (pillid); Viru magedad 2. osas tants; Üks ilus mõis; Äksi polka (k.); Viru valts; Savikoja polka; Teistel kõigil naised; Siisik— tants; Piira Peeter (pillid); Örn kevade (pillid); Peigimees; Mäe otsas; Hopper valtser.

Performance Program, April 1990 (Espoo)

tp.; Peenid sõrmed...; Loomine; Kui mina hakkas; Teotants; tp.; v.; Kui mina hakkas (Margus); Saks mind soovis; Kiige laul; Väravamäng; Sabatants; Kuusalu voortants; Kirburaputus; v. polka; Toht, linnud, vilepill, huiked, sarv; Hobusemäng; Kepitants; Kiitsakas; pp.; Setu karavuut; setu meeste laul; Savikoja polka; Kaini valts—Lõõts + v.; Äksi polka— k.; Viru magedad; Marko lõõts; Taaveti polka; Kihnu laul; Üts rätsep; Siimümäng (eesti + rootsi); hk.; Pakri tp.; Palas; Ma läksin metsa; Käimalugu; Kolonnitants.

Performance Program, 16 June 1990

tp.; (illegible— Margus, Igor); v. burdon; pasun, vilep., roop., õlep., sarv, suisti; Karjalugu; pp.; k.; P-J Labj; Pärnu p.; Marko (l.); Kindalugu; Pruudilugu.

Performance Program, 21 June (Kisuna)

Väravamäng; Ma laulaksin; Kui mina; labj. t.; v.; Kaege, vele; Kiigel (Kr.); 3 Lää tantsu; Till-lill lippu; Kirbutants; v. polka; pp.; linnud; Rikas-vaene; Kadril; Savikoja; Ristitants; k. polka; Viru mage; Pärnu p.; Ma kõndsin; Marko (l.); Ruhnu pulmalaul; Siimümäng; hk.; Pulmaorkester.

Performance Program, 26 June 1990 (Norway)

Pasun; peenid sõrmed; Rattalaul; Teotants; tp. + Mustjala madal; pp.; Kiigelaul; Saks mind; Latsi alla lilli; Äksi polka; Labj. v. + k. Virumage; Marko l.; Savikoja p.; Kortsu-K. p.; Ma kõndsin.

Performance Program, 28 June 1990

Laula laula; Margus; Ratas; Toht linnud, kari; Hobusemäng; Kepit; Kiitsakas; telu tegemine; hk.; roopill; Ehted kadunud; Iiret-iiret; Tohi neiu; t.; v. burdon; Karavuut; Kuuvoort; Kirbut.; Kolonnitants; Ma laulaksi; Aga oi mis libu; Üts rätsep; Siimümäng; Kindalugu; Marko— l.; pp.; P-J labj.; k. valss; Till-lill; Mustlane; Ma läksin; Jakk; Kõrret; Pruudi valtser.

Performance Program, 15 July 1990 (Kaustinen)

Pasun; Laula laula; Anu laul; Ammu oodi; toht, linnud, sarv; v. burdon; Peenid sõrmed; Kuu voortants.

Performance Program, 4 October 1990

Mee oleme muusekandi; Noodilood; Sinuda mino; Iiderissi-aaderassi; Torup. tegemine—sättimine; Ölepill; v. Tekkimine; Kindalugu; Taaveti; Väike lõõts; pp.; suur l.; Mede eit läks heina; Ei nalja sõber ole ma.

Performance Program, 20 December 1990 (ETV Christmas broadcast)

Jumala tee (Vilj 1876-81); Setu palvelaul (Anne); Öie; Põlva; Jeesuse näljasurm (SJ 1898, Külli); Jeesuse kannatamine ja surm (Kadrina 1843); Setu laul; Suur valgus tõusis taeva all; Oh laulgem südamest (L-Nig); Ma tulen taevast (Kih); See jõulupäev on rõõmust suur; Nüüd ole Jeesus kiidetud (Kih 1907); Nõelamäng; Midrilind; pillilood.

Performance Program, 2 February 1991 (Küünlapäev program)

Punajoomine; Ma laulan ligi külada; 2 meestelaulu (Ain, Igor); Peenid sõrmed; Küünalde süütamine (Igor); Rattalaulud; Meeste imelaulud, õlle nõudmine ja maitumine; Mustjala vaimulik; Kolonnitants; Leegajuse "Oksad"— Piibar, Sõsarõ, Lahema vanem vend, Leigarid 1 laul; Setu "tästuskad"; Nüüd olen leeris käind— Ömblemine; Külaliste esinemine (Läti, Leedu, Rootsi); Mille kokko kogutigi (mehed alustavad); Tänu- ja tervitusring; Iideressi ja aaderassi— Lõpptants.

Performance Program, 13 February 1991 (Seewald)

Vastlailaulud; Kui mina.. (Kihnu); Must naine; pp.; Teotants; Kindalugu; vilepõll; õlepill; tp.; Imitatsi; Lauljaid otsitakse; Meeste laul; Noodilood; Äksi p.; Viru magedad; Kirbutants; Oole-Leena v.; Ma läksin.

Performance Program, 15 March 1991 (Middle School #40)

Hällilaulud — 4; Hüpitamine (Öie); Ema viis nuku- nurme peale; Karjalood: Üles, üles (Igor); Huiked; Läki külla kodapöole; Kai kuo karjakene; Veere, veere päevakene; Linnud: Varblane (3), Pääsuke (2), lõoke, vares, künnilind (2); pillide imit.; Kihnu ratas; Kiigelaul— Kuu keerutusega; Lähme kiigele kiikumäe; Ema haua; Ätemäng; Aiamäng; Hobusemäng; Setu laul; Till-lill-lippu; Vares vaga linnuke; Ma läksin metsa; Lõputu laul.

Performance Program, 17 May 1991 (Jõelähtme)

Arg laulik; Kust laulud; Pääsuke 1888; Kevad põllul; Vilepill — Vanapagana lehepilli lugu; Karjasarve tükk k.; Kiige laulud: Lähmehe (Kr); Lähme kuud kuulama; Tink tingali; Väravamäng; Teotants; v. vana polka; Sulasele mehele; Leikan väljalla mäella; Teolaulud; Teolaulud (Maardu); Sõjalaul; Ja see 21; Pulmakikkade labj.; Siit seinast labj.; Tundi lõivad; Iiderissi-Aaderassi; Oppvalts; Keila meeste labj.

Performance Program, 21 May 1991 (Jõelähtme, Kostivere)

Arg laulik (Öie, Anu); Kui mina hakkam (Margus); Kui mina hakkam (Anu); Kevad põllul (Siim); Kiigelood: Lähme kiigele (Kr.); Lähme kuud kuulama (Sai); 3 järve (Kr.); Tink-tingali; Teotants; Pasun, hoiskamine, roopill, pääsuke; Kits kile karja; Karjasarve tükk; Imed; Teolaulud: Joome kõrtsus, koidikuni (Igor, margus); Nekruti põgenemine (Ain); Oleks sie miesi minulla (Anu) Inglis mees...; Tilepill (Margus); Sirbiviskamine; Sulasele (Reet); Leikan väljalla mäella (Reet); Vara vaeslapseks (Küll); Ema haua (Kr.); k. (Margus); pp. (Igor); Pulmalaulud (Reet, Külli); Pulmakokkade valts (I.); Vana polka v.; Martilaul; Läksin metsa; Siit seinast labj.; Ingliska; Jõulumängud: Väravamäng; Mederilind; laevamäng; Labj valts v.; Tundi lõivad; Keila labj.; Oppvaltser; Iiderissi-aaderassi; Üks ühte...

Performance Program, 2 November 1991 (Lagedi Culture Center)

Ema haua; Kui mina hakkam (Margus); Arg laulik (Leida, Anu); Marguse kannel— Tai tilu; Tink-üngadi; Teotants; Kindalugu— v.; Mis viga randlasel elada (meestelaul); Kiigel (Anu); vilepill; Sulasele; Tohi neiu siin laulda; Oi mille noroh .; Save, lullutamine, lehepill, linnud; pp. Eit hernes; tp.; v. Harju valts; Siit seinast; Kirbutants; Pärnu polka; Viru magedad; Kasatsk; 20 let; Savikoja polka; Pruudilugu; Ma istsin õues ukse ees (naised); Tundi lõivad; Üks ühte.

Performance Program, 12 November 1991 (Teachers' Hall, Labajalg Waltz program)

King-Kingupilli; 2 torup. lugu 18. saj.; Kui metsa Kai lugu v.; Peenid sõrmed; Teotants; Vana Harju valts; Viru lõss; Torup. valts v.; Ätsemäng; Suur lammastants; Kolonnitants; Hunt aga taga (pp., hk.); lab. laulud (Igor, Ämm piu, Muhu, Luht Ann); Tori labj (Joel); Vormsi voortants; Palas; 15 Piis pikka pilliroho marja; 3 Läänemaa tantsu; Rätsepa valtser (Toivo); Torupilli tükk (Joel); Vana valts (k.); Kaini valts (lõõts, v.); Noodilood (mehed, naised); Vanatüdrukute lugu (Toivo); Üks ilus mõis oli Eestimaal; Mustjala madal; Kirburaputus; Pärnu-Jaagupi labj.; Mede eit läks eina; Viru mage; Viru valts; Labj. (instr.); Kui olin plika (naised); Ühel eidel kaks ilusat tütart; Ma kõnsin vainul; Pruudilugu; Voortants.

Performance Program, 17 December 1991 (Christmas Games)

Kristuse nälgasurm (Küll); Pühade ootamine (lapsed); Nigadi-nagadi nääritantsu (lapsed); Jõuluhani (2 variants); Sõrumsemäng; Tädi tuli Tallinnast; P-J Väravamäng; Naerimäng (lapsed); Vanaemamäng; Siimani seele; Mina olen rikas mees (lapsed); Tartust tuli tamarse lindu; Aiamäng (2 variants); Targa rehealune-tants; Jõulukits/karu; Kindalugu; Sokulaul; Nõeamäng; Hobusemäng (2 variants); Ussitants; viulilugu; Voulimäng; Rikas-vaene; Siimumäng; Laevamäng; Väravamäng; Kolonnitants; Üldine tants lõõtsa saatel.

Performance Program, 21 January 1992 Teachers' Hall; Estonian traditional violin music, performed by Joel Sarv (J) and Toivo Tubli (T).

4 Kihnu lugu (Joel=J); Lõolugu (Toivo=T); Sõrmõlugu; Vatijõgi (T); Ma panin tütre teole ja vara välja vaimule(T+J); Torupillivalss (T+J); Kui metsa kaie (T); Tori labj (J+T); Torivalss (T); P-J labj.; (k. + v.); Pärnu polka (k. + v.); Tammani Jass (k. + v.); Mede eit läks eina (k. + v.); Torupilli moodilugu (J); Rätsepa valtser (T); Karu-Liisut ma ei taha (T); Kindalugu (T); Torup. valss (J); Rõpina labj.; (T); Kasatski (J); Kuulja itkemine (T); Vastatside kargus (T); Setu Kaera-jaan; Vanatüdrukute lugu (T); Mustlase naisepeks (J); Karjalugu (T); Pruudiotsimise lugu (T); Seiep tuleb võõraida (song); Saajalugu (T); Pulmamarss (T); Vana-Harju valts (T+J); Vana polka (T); Siruta koibi (k. + v.); Käsikivi polka (k. + v.).

Performance Program, 18 February 1992 (Teachers' Hall; Mens' songs)

Arg kosilane (Margus); Arg kosilane (Joel); Vahelt vaene (Igor); Tore noormees (Joel); Kaevul kosija (Igor); Oleks mul aga (Ain); Ma lähen koisule; Pealt neisikene (Margus); Lubja-Liisu kosjalugu; Vai vai et võtaks naise; Naine nirutab mu vaeseks; Kosilane laisas talus (Siim); Iiret-iiret (Ain); Kuidas Hans kosja läks (k.); Oi mille (Igor); Illos tüdruk; Must naine (Muhu) (Ain); Kuld naine (Siim); Must naine (Vän) (Ain); Hea ja kuri mees (Mati); Tilluke naine (Ain); Oleks mul üks naisenäiu; Kord mul tuli...; Linna kaupmehe tütrike.

Performance Program, 17 March 1992 Teachers' Hall, Game-songs

Haledad laulud: Kord kõndis Ennu Elsaga; Suur meri; Kui olin mina alles väikene; Kased; Kaks Piiberi lindu; Üks noormees otsib pruut; Krahv sõitis mõisast ratsutil; Ühel eidel; Samburi linnas (mehed); Siimumäng; Teistel kõigil (naised); Mustlase tüdruk; Nüüd olen mina leeris käind; Londoni linnas taamemaja; Reinlender + polka; Peterburi uhkes linnas; Mäe otsas kaljulossis; Ma läksin metsa kõndima; Ma kõndsin vainul; Roheline hein; Sõitsin üle Soome silla; Poiss Venevere külast; Ilus poiss; Ja see 21; tants lõõtsaga; Öhtu vaikus katab ilma.

Performance Program, 27 March 1992 (Kiisa)

Tule minu ildaje; Arg kosilane (Margus); Arg kosilane (Joel); Vahelt vaene (Igor/Jaan); Tore noormees (Joel); Kaevul kosija (Igor); Lubja Liisu (k.); Vile-Vanapagana kosjal; Oleks mul unes õeldud (Ain); Päält neisikene (Margus); Vai, vai, vai, et...; Vanakuradi kosjal (v.); Kosilane laisas talus (Siim); Pulma minda (Ain); Mul oll naane (Ain); Mustlase naisepeks (v.); Illos tüdruk (Igor); Must naine— Muhu (Ain); Kuldnaine (Siim); Kea ja kuri mees (Mati); Oli mul üks (lõõts); Kord mul tuli; Linnakodaniku tütreke.

### Performance Program, 21 April 1992

Oh seda kena kevadita; Kevad põllul; Linnud; Tsõõtamine Setu Urbep.; Lihavõtted; Loomine; Jürrip. —pasun, sarv, kokka koorekene; Sõnnikulast; Öru kevade.

### Performance Program, 19 May 1992 ("Money Program")

Palgamäng; Laulik tahab raha; Iste ilma; Kuidas keegi rikkaks sai; Rikka härg- vares; Rikka-vaese mäng; Liidut-Tiidut; Kiigel; Telu tegemine; Rikas kosilane; Varnduse pärast vanale; Mis peiul taskus; Mõrsja-lupast (Simm-Saleju); Ruhnu laul; Lemmkibu l.; Lava-puhkimine; 3 meest kojast; Kergotamine.

## Overview of Leegajus Repertoire

The above concert programs include approximately 750 items: approximately 500 songs, 50 game-songs, 17 songs of other nations, 180 instrumental pieces. The following lists undoubtedly include many errors: Some songs may appear under several titles (for example, "Meeste peolaul" and "Setu peolaul" are probably the same song), and other titles include many songs (for example, "Kiigelaulud," or "Swinging Songs," may refer to many different songs, only a few of which appear in the list.). Some "dances" are accompanied by songs ("Tammani Jass," "Mede eit läks eina," "Karu-Liisut ma ei taha"). Because I do not know many of the pieces, and the list is based for the most part on titles, some "songs" may actually be "game-songs" or even "instrumental pieces." These lists, in spite of all their shortcomings, provide approximate numbers of items in the group's repertoire. Numbers in parentheses indicate how many times a piece appears in the program lists presented above.

### Estonian Folksongs

Aga mina küll; Aga oi mis lõbu (7x); Ai tuli; Aiut-taiut tahtsin laulda (3x); All orgus (4x); Ämm piu-piu (3x); Ammu oodi; Ann läts sita; Anu kiige laul—Lutsi; Ära usu poisi juttu; Arg kosilane (5x); Arg laulik (3x); Ärge mult mune küsige; Armast. laulud; Avage uksed (2x); Eeti mind äälest (2x); Ehted kadunud (2x); Ei tohi koju minna; Ei nalja sõber ole ma; Ei takista vallid; Else laulge; Ema viis nuku- nurme peale; Ema haua (11x); Ema õpetus; Ema viidi teed müüda; Ema viis lapse heinamaale; Ema mull ütles; Halb kiik (3x); Hällilaulu — at least 2 different (6x); Handa, handa; Haned kadunud; Hannalaul (2x); Haraka hüppamine; Harakas; Hea hääl (4x); Hea ja kuri mees (4x); Hea mees pilliga; Heinast hobu; Helletused; Hiia-hä; Hiir nagu härg; Hiire seljas teole (2x); Hinge sandid; Hirmus mõis; Hobune kadunud; Hoiatus ilusa mehe eest; Hollandi sulane (3x); Huiked; Hundi ja jänese laul; Hunt aia taga (laul, p.p.) (2x); Hüpetamine (2x); Hüüa, pilli (2x); Hüüdvad hülged (5x); Iiderissi-aaderassi (4x); Iiret-iiret (4x); Illos tüdruk (2x); Ilma parandamine; Ilu laulud; Ilus tütrike; Ilus neiu (2x); Ilus neiu linnas (2x); Ima viidi; Imä vei nuku (8x); Imed (4x); Imelik on ilmaelu; Imemaa; Imitatsioonid (2x); Isa mul ütles (2x); Iste ilma; Isteks ilma veere pääle (2x); Jeesuse kannatamine ja surm (3x); Jeesuse näljasurm (3x); Jõelähtme kiigelaul (2x); Joeli laul; Jõlus ond (2x); Joodikul mehel; Joome kõrtsus, koidikuni; Jõuluhani (2 variants); Jõulukits/karu; Jõululaul; Jumal aga hoidku (7x); Jumala tee; Kaasa ei pane kasvama; Kaasitamine; Kada; Kadritsükkel; Kaege, vele, häälesida! (8x); Kaevul kosija (3x); Kägu; Kai kuo karjakene; Kalamees (3x); Kallis kiik— Harja-Jaani; Käokiri; Käolaul; Kari kadunud; Karjaste helletused; Kas teil o seda oosta?; Kasari laulupõrand; Kased; Kasvates asjata (2x); Kättemaks sakstele (2x); Kaua mina käisin karjateedal; Hea ja kuri mees; Kena siidisulge lindu (2x); Kena tammekene; Kena kevade (2x); Kerburaputus (2x); Kergakene; Kes see siia kiige teinud; Kes sind käskis kosja tulla (4x); Kevad põllul (3x); Kevadelaul (2x); Kevadlindude imiteerimine; Kiburaputus; Kihnu laul; Kihnu ratas; Kihnumua; Kiigel (3x); Kiigel kartlik (4x); Kiigelaul (many different possibilities) (20x); Kiigu, kiigekene (4x); Kiik heas kohas (Liina); Kiis, kiis, kass; King-Kingupilli; Kingsepp; Kirbuga kirikusse (2x); Kirburaputus (5x); Kirp kiigel; Kits kile karja; Kitse krapp; Kitse ähvardus; Kodoimä; Kodu tunnused; Kodu kaugel; Kodus käimas (3x); Kokku,

koorekene (2x); Kolju kabel; Kolm järve; Kolm meest kojast; Kolm metsa (3x); Kolm õuna; Kolm vanda; Kord kõndis Ennu Eltsaga; Kord mul tuli kosjamõte (10x); Kortsilaul; Kosilane laisast talus (7x); Kosilane virgast talus (2x); Kiigelaul; Kristuse nälgasurm; Kubjas ja teomees (4x); Kuhu me lähme; Kui olin plika; Kui ma kasvasin; Kui mina hakkast laulemaie (2 variants) (16x); Kui vägi Jamburti läks; Kui kätte jõudis liisuaeg (2x); Kui hakkast mina minema; Kui kätte jõudis liisuaeg; Kui olin mina alles väikene (5x); Kuidas keegi rikkaks sai; Kuku, käokene (4x); Küla mul ütlet (2x); Küla mul ütles: kuku, kuku!; Külamees kündis; Kuld naine (3x); Küll targad tõttasid Petlemin see kauni tähe poole; Kulla mama; Kupja sajatus (2x); Kupjas ja teomees (2x); Kurb kosilane; Kurb laulik (2x); Kurg kündmas; Kuri perenaine; Kus sa käisid, sokukene? (2x); Kust laulud õpitud (2x); Kust laps need laulud võtnud; Kust laps laulud sai; Kutse jaanitulele; Kuu keerutusega; Küünalde süütamine; Kuupaiste ei riku kuube; La mie laulan; Lääme vällä Jaani kaima; Läänemaa pulmalaul; lab. laulud; Lähem teeda tipulista; Lähme ära siita maalt (3x); Lähme kuud kuulama (2x); Lähme kiigele (4x); Lahmehe (2x); Lahti hauauksed; Lainetel; Laisast talu; Läki külla kodapoolet; Läksin metsa; Laske mul, ma paluksin; laste käölaul; lastelaulud (3x); Lätsi alla lilli (4x); Laula, suukene! (10x); Laulan ligi külada (3x); Laulan üle merele; Laulik tahab raha; Lauliku lapsepõli (2x); Lauljaid otsitakse (2x); Laulu võim; Laulud tööli õpitud (4x); Leikan väljalla mäella (2x); Lemmikibu laul; Liidut-Tiidut; Liigotamine; Liiri lõõri (2x); Liiri-lääri; Linakatuja (2x); Lind lohutamas; Lindude õlu (3x); Linna kaupmehe tütrike (4x); Linnakodaniku tütreke (3x); Linnud: Varblane, Pääsuke, lõoke, vares, künnilind (over 20x); Lõbus lesk; Lõikuslaulu—2 different (5); Londoni linnas taamemaja (3x); Loomad laadal; Loomine (3x); Lõputu laul; Luht Ann (koos tantsuga); Lüürika: Kannel; Ma laulaksin (7x); Ma tulen taevast ülevalt; Ma pole päris pulmaline; Ma lään linna liksatelles; Ma kõndsin vainul (11x); Ma laulan ligi külada; Ma tulen taevast (2x); Ma lähen koisule; Ma istsin õues ukse ees; Mäe otsas kalju lossis (9x); Mardilaulud (3x); Marjalaul; Martna ja Kihnu näärilaulud; Me oleme kolmeksi sõsare; Mede mõisal laia laane; Mede härral (2x); Mede mõisal laia laane; Mederilind; Mee oleme muusekandi; Meeste imelaulud, õlle nõudmine ja maitsmine; Meeste peolaal (2x); Meeste laul (2x); Mehetapja Maie; Meie herr (2x); Meie kaks moonameesta (2x); Memme vaev; Meremees (5x); Meremehe poeg— Halliste (2x); Meri õue all; Miks karu pruun on? Näärikaru + tants; Miks ei laula meie neiid (2x); Miks on kurb kosilane; Miks laulab lapuline; Miks me vaesed vaeva näeme; Mille kokku (7x); Mille noroh; Milleks meid kokku kutsuti; Millest härra ilus; Mina mees (2x); Mina mor (2x); Mina aga seisan üksi siin; Minu peigu (2x); Minu ema (eesti-rootsi rahvalaul); Minu lind; Minu paigu pillisepp; Minu ema; Mis kupjast saab; Mis peiul taskus; Mis viga randlasel elada; Mõisa nurmed; Mõisad külas (2x); Mõisast pääs (2x); Mõisnike karistamas (2x); Mölder Mats (2x); Mõrsja lumast; Mõrsja amasaatmine; Mõrsja-lupast (Simm-Saleju); Muhu meestelaal; Mul oll naane; Mul oll tillo; Must naine (Muhu, Van. variants, 13x); Mustj. vaimulik (3x); Mustjala lastelaalud; Mustjala tantsulaal; Mustlane; Mustlase tüdruk (6x); Nääri sissetoomine (5x); Näärihane (2x); Näärikaru; Näärikingsepp (2x); Näärisokkude tulek, õnnesoovid etc. (5x); Näärivana; Naine nirutab mu vaeseks; Näiokekõsõ; Narva kiigelaal (2x); Neid om viisi; Neitsi nuppu; Neitsi maarjakuld (Kihnu, sõidulaal); Neitsikene, noorukene; Neiu läks linna (2x); Neiuälgi (2x); Nekruti põgenemine; Nekrutiks minek; Nekrutilaal (4x); Neljakese Kargus; Noodilood (13x); Noorik lahku; Nurka, noored mehed; Nuttev tamm (2x); Nutust järvi; Nüüd olen mina leeris käind (4x); Nüüd algavad noodilood (2x); Odra-kaera tuli; Oh seda kena kevadita; Oh minu kulla kiigutajad; Oh te kuldseid kiigutajad (2x); Oh laulgem südamest (3x); Oh me vaesed õised orjad (4x); Öhtu ilu (11x); Öhtu vaikus (7x); Öhtust (2x); Oi mis elu; Oi oi, vambola poisid; Oi mille noroh... (2x); Öidsi laal (2x); Öie karjalaal (2x); Öie itk; Öistisängid; Oitsilaal; Oiu, hoidke minda; Ole me vaesed; Oleks mul üks naisenäiu; Oleks sie miesi minulla; Oleks mul unes õeldud (5x); Olgu mees, kes laulab vastu; Olin ma õõ üleval; Õllelaal (4x); Olli ma üü; Olliks ma; Oma ema ja võõras ema (jutustav laal); Oma ema; Omaksed ajavad ära; Ommikul kui võtsin; Önnista ja hoiä (2x); Ööd mina iidän, päevad kõidan; Oodi ma püha tulevet; Ori läheb ära; Orja sõök; Orjusest ostja; Ostetud hääl (7x); Ösujate õnn (3x); Öunapuu (4x); P-J kiigelaal; Päält neitsikene; Pääsukene; Pagene, põldu, üles; Palas (3x); Palju sõnu (7x); Pankovitsa kirikukellad (k.); Patsu tee; Peait neisikene; Peenid sõrmed (14x); Peigimees; Peiu õpetus; Peolaal (3x); Peterburi uhkes linnas (5x); Pidin Pillele minema (3x); pikka linnateeda; Pill ei toida; pillide imit.; Poiss sõidab laulma (3x); Poiss Venevere külast (5x); Polas (2x); Põleta mõis; Põlva; Põrgu mõis (2x); Pruudi otsimine (v.); Pühade ootamine (lapsed); pühkimine; Puhu tuuli; Pull

hüüdis pinutaga; Pulma minda kutsutie (2x); Pulmalaul (3x); Punajoomine; Rattalaulud (8x); Rebase paelad; Rehepeks; Rikas kosilane (3x); Rikka härg- vares; Ristitud mets; Rongisõit; Rõude jõululaulu; Ruhnu pulmalaul (4x); Ruhnu laul; Saja, uuta lunda!; Saks mind soovis (8x); Saks ei küнна; Saksad surevad, mõisad põlevad; Samburi linnas (2x); See jõulupäev on rõõmust suur (2x); Seip tuleb võõraida! (2x); Setu meeste laul; Setu laul Tõdõ tõdõ (Mille kokku); Setu peolaul; Setu kargus (k.); Setu laul (5x); Setu pulmalaul; Setu nelikvõrsid-tõastuškad (2x); Setu palvelaul (3x); Siga kõndis (2x); Siga siia; Siimani seele; Siiro, sitakõnõ; Siisi-salejuu; Sikulaul (2x); Sim-salaju; Sirbiviskamine; Sirgu suure masse; Sirise, sirbikene (3x); Soised maad (2x); Suur valgus tõusis taeva all; Sõitsin Sõitsin pikka linnateeda; Sõjalaul; Sõjamees; Sökkude laul (6x); Sõnnikulast; Sulasele mehele (3x); Sulevi laul (2x); Suur meri (4x); Suur valgus tõusis taeva all; Suur lammast (2x); Suur meri hirmast kohab (uue laul); Tädi tuli Tallinnast; Täevaminek (2x); Tähemõrsja (2x); Täide tunnid (2x); Tallinnasse laulma (2x); Talunaiseks ma ei taba (10x); Tammani Jan (2x); Tantsulaulud; Tänu- ja tervitusring; Tartust tuli tamarse lindu; Tee ilu (4x); Teenin siin (2x); Tegin orgu odrad haljad; Teistel kõigil (2x); Teolaulud (3x); Teomehe nädalapäevad (4x); Teopoisilaul; Tere tede tuba (3x); Tere sie tuba (2x); Tere, tuba; Tere, teie tuba; Tererahane rahvas; Teretuslaul; Till-lill lippu (9x); Tilluke naine (4x); Tink tingali (2x); Tink-tingadi; Tired iired; Tiriam tiipan; Tiriam; Toa pühkimine; Tõbine naine (2x); Tohi neiu siin laulda (2x); Torupilli vok. imit.; Tõst. vastulaulud; Tõst. pruudi lainastus; Tõstamaa pulmalaulud (4x); Trumma laul; Tsõõtamine Setu; Tsükkel laule "Teenisin mina rikast meest" ; Tuim neiu; Tuisu neiu (Kar., Rid); Tulge kiigele; Tulge jaanile; Tulge jaaniku tulele (2 variants) (3x); Tundi lõivad (3x); Türgi sõjalaul (4x); Tütarde tapja; Ühtelaulmine; Uigasi, mina (2x); Uinu, uinu, ullikene; Üks ilus mõis oli Eestimaal (2x); Üks-kaks-kolm (4x); Üks laul; Üks rätsep tuli Rasinast; Üksteist hunt!; Üks ühte (2x); Ülemetsalugu (v.); Üles, üles; Ütelge sõnnu kel on inämb; Üts rätsep (4x); Üüdvad; Vaderite "Telu tegemine"; Vahelt vana (2x); Vai vai et võtaks naise (2x); Väike naine (3x); Vale pruut; Valge jänes (2x); Valik pulmalaule; Valik laule noortest, kosjadest, abielust; Väandra kiigelaul; Vara vaeslapseks; Vares ütles (2x); Vares vana linnuke; Varese-Autsu; Väsinud lõikaja; Vastlalaule; Vastu laulud; Vee võetud (2x); Veere, veere päevakene; Venda leinamas; Vene laul; Venevere külas; Venna sõjalugu; Vihtlemine lauluga (2x); Viikse lauda; Viinalaulud; Vikati luskamine lauluga; Viltu (2x); Võlva palvelaul; Vormsi tantsulaulud (2x).

#### Game-Songs (Mängud)

Aiamäng (2 variants) (6x); Äkkemäng (2x); Atsemäng (13x); Hanemäng (4x); Hobusemäng (2 variants) (28x); Iius poiss (5x); Ja see 21 (6x); Jooksumäng; Kaks Piiberi lindu... (2x); Kosjamäng; Krahv sõitis mõisast ratsutil (2x); Kullimäng (7x); Kuningamäng (4x); Kuppari-Muori (2x); Laevamäng (11x); Lambamäng (6x); Ma läksin metsa kõndima (18x); Midrilind (mäng) (6x); Mina olen rikas mees; Mu isamaa armas (3x); Mulgimaa laulumänge; Naerimäng (3x); Neiu valimise mäng; Nõelamäng (10x); Nõörimäng; Nukumäng (3x); Oldermannimäng (3x); P-J Väravamäng; Paarimäng; Palgamäng; Rikka ja vaesemäng (11x); Roheline hein (7x); Rootsi laulumäng; Seesam (6x); Siimamäng (eesti + rootsi) (31x); Sõitsin üle Soome silla; Sõrumsemäng; Suure lamba mäng (2x); Tallinnas tantsu ei tahetud (12x); Telu tegemine (20x); Ühel eidel (7x); Üks noormees otsib pruut; Valik setu laulumänge; Vanaeidemäng (5x); Väravamäng (15x); Voulimäng (2x).

#### Foreign Folksongs

Daenbrout; Dvatstatj let služilsja (3x); ingeri laul; Ingeri-soome laul; Kägu kukkus aias (leedu sutartine); Kägu kukub, maa kumiseb (vadja rahvalaul); Leedu laul; Lehtede hää! (läti rahvalaul); Läti laul; Lunastav neiu (ingeri laul) (3x); Maanantaina (6x); Mesilane (leedu rahvalaul); Põimik eestirootslaste folkloorist (Mänge, tantse, pillilugusid); ungari; Vadja pulmalaul; Vadja kiigelaul; Vorobjovo mäed (vene rahvalaul).



### Dances, Instrumental Pieces

Äksi polka (k.) (17x)8; Ei lind, ei laul, (k.) (7x); Haigejala valss + polka; Halliste labj. (v.) (2x); Halliste roopillilugu; Hiidlase tp. (l.) (2x); Hopper-valtser (v.) (4x); Iisaku kandlelugu (2x); Ingeri pasun (2x); Ingliska (2x); Itk viiulil; Jakk (5x); Jäätüki lugu (v.); Jõhvi polka (v., pp.) (16x); Jõuluvalss; Kaarasiim (rahvatants); Kadrill (3x); Kaini valtser (l. + v.) (6x); Kaks Räpina tantsulugu (v.); Karavuut (3x); Kargus (k.) (2x); Karjala pulmalugu; Karjala kandlelugu; Karjalugu viiuliga (11x); Karjasarve tükk k. (2x); Karjaselaul roopillil; Karu-Liisu polka (v. + k.) (9x); Karu-Liisut ma ei taha; Kasatski (2x); Käsikivi polka (k. + v.) (2x); Kämalugu (valss) (13x); Keigapere tants (8x); Keila labj. (2x); Kepitants (2x); Kihnu v.; Kiitsakas (11x); Kindalugu (v.) (18x); Kirbutants (15x); Kolonnitants (16x); kooditants; Kõrretants (8x); Kõrtsu-Kaarli polka (10x); Krakovjak; Krässi tegemine (tp.); Kui metsa kaie (v.) (5x); Kui Pranstus Moskvaskäis (instr.); Kui Prantsus Moskvaskäis (v.); Kui vägi Jamburki läks (tp.); Kuidas Hans kosja läks (k.); Kuulja itkemine; Kuusalu voortants (6x); Läänemaa tantsud (6x); Labajalavalss Mustjalast (v.); Labajalg viguritega; Labajalg— v. (many variants); Labakindalugu (3x); Lõolugu (3x); Loomad töö! (4x); Lõõtsa labj.; Lõõtsa polka (2x); Lubja Liisu (k.) (5x); Ma panin tütre teole ja vara välja vaimule; Marguse kannel— Tai tilu; Marko lõõts (10x); Mede eit läks eina (k. + v.) (4x); Meeste rattatants; Metsavilus (k.); Miru valts; Mulgi polka (21x); Must-polka; Mustjala rong; Mustjala madal (tants) (8x); Mustjala labj. (tp. + v.) (2x); Mustlase naisepeks (v.) (2x); Nääri sokkude tantsimine torupilliga; Naiste ringitants; Neli Kihnu lugu (v.); Nigadi-nigadi nääritantsu (lapsed); Nõrsla ikmine (sarvepill); Õlepill (2x); Oli mul üks (lõõts); Oole-Leena valts (4x); Ööpillilugu; Oppvaltser (2x); Orjatants (2 variants Hall, Krk) (9x); Öru kevade (pillid) (2x); Paaris rong; Paigalejäämise polka (l.) (4x); Pakri tp. (5x); Pärliin (3x); Pärnu polka (20x); Pärnu linna; Pärnu-Jaagupi labj. (8x); Pärnu-Jaagupi kiigel; Passi lõõmine, Kingsepp, Rebasepaelad; pasun, vilep., roop., õlep., sarv, suisti; Piira Peeter (pillid); Põhja-Eesti tantsulood: tp. Labj; Põimik karjaste pillilugudest ja lauludest; Pruudi valtser (2x); Pruudilugu (10x); Pruudiotsimise lugu; Pulmakikkade labj.; Pulmakokkade valts (l.); Pulmamars (v.); Pulmaorkester (4x); Pulmarong; Raabiku (5x); Räditants; Ranna Jaani polka (3x); Räpina labj.; Rätsepa valtser (4x); Reinlender (4x); Ringitants; Ristitants (4x); Ruhnu pulmatants; S-J polka (k.); Saajalugu (tp.) (3x); Sabatants tp. (5x); Savikoja polka (5x); Savikoja venelane (5x); Setu roopill; Setu tantsud; Setu karavuut; Setu kadrill; Setu Kaera-jaan (k. + v.); Vir-ver-vidis (k. + v.); Siisik— tants; Siit seinast labj. (3x); Siku polka; Sikusarv (pasun); Simmanipolka; Sinuda mina küll ei taha— polka (2x); Sinuda mino; Siruta koibi (. + v.); Sokkude tants; Soome polka; Sõrmõlugu (5x); Suure-Jaani roopillilugu; Suure-Tõllu labj. (v.); Taaveti polka (2x); Takkalaadi polka (6x); Tammani Jass (k. + v.) (3x); tants lõõtsaga; Targa rehealune-tants (2x); Teibatants (3x); Teotants (24); Tilepill (Margus); Tõmba-Jüri (5x); Tore noormees (v.) (2x); Tori labj (3x); Torivalss; Torup. lugu viiulil; Torup. tegemine—sättimine; Torupill; Torupilli moodilugu; Tursamäe polka; Tütarde pp.; Ussitants (4x); Vahetusega reinlender (k.); Väike lõõts; Väike poisilutikas (Kihnu viiulilugu); Vambola poisid; Vana valts (k.) (2x); Vana Paabo polka; Vana Harju valts; Vana polka v. (2x); Vana-Harju valts; Vanakuradi kosjal (v.); Vanapagana lehepillilugu (tp.); Vanatüdruk (v.) (10x); Varas (5x); Varesetants (2x); Vastastaida kargus (instr.) (3x); Vati jõgi (v.) (2x); Vengerka (2x); Vihterpalu tantsuviis, munn-harpa; Vilepill — Vanapagana lehepilli lugu; Viru valts (hk.) (3x); Viru joru (k.) (4x); Viru magedad (k.) (32x); Viru lõss (tp.) (2x); Voortants (14x); Vormsi voortants.

## Selected Songs from the Repertoire of Leegaius

### Songs of Social Protest

A variation of the theme raised by Herder in his interpretation of the "Lament about the Tyrants" (as described in Chapter Two above) emerged as a part of a Leegaius performance titled Saaksin ma saksa sundijaks! ("If I were to become the ruler of my master!"), and based on a published collection of folklore by that title (Laugaste 1976).

A brief newspaper report of this concert, which took place on November 17, 1977, gave a surprisingly detailed description of the performance, which raised the theme of "the multiplicity of relations that exist between master and serf," a theme which "can be interpreted in many ways":

In a dark room overflowing with people, there resounds the old voice of singer Liisu Orik, recorded in Tõstamaa in 1964:

"Oh, me vaesed tüsed orjad, Ütüsed orjad, päesed pärjad, Kinnikillutud sulased, Rauda pandud palgalised..."	"Oh, we poor nighttime slaves, Nighttime slaves, inheritors of daytime labor, Trapped servants, Workers locked in irons..."
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One after another, peasants in coarse shirts emerge from the audience, to form a small ring in the center, and the rhythmic sound of beating flails echoes in the stillness (The flails are real, from Haljala parish, and the work technique has been demonstrated by the ethnographer Ellen Karu). In the light of a lantern (from Raikküla) a man reads fragments about the life of Estonian peasants as recorded by others. One of them is from J. Chr. Petri's work, "Ehstland und die Ehsten," in which the rural people's life in 1802 is discussed:

"The miserable house in which he lives is not his own. The field which he cultivates by the sweat of his brow, and the fruit, do not belong to him. All that he has - his flock, servant, even his wife and children, are the property of his master" [Laugaste 1976: 33].

A single peasant softly begins a song, the others hum along. In the dim light, the eye cannot discern the faces of individual singers. Is this the anonymous folk singer singing? [Sarv 1977].

Fifteen years later, I asked Igor Tõnurist and Ain Sarv if this performance was about the Soviet "masters," and a critique of the communist society in which, regarding every Soviet citizen, "the miserable house he lives in is not his own." Igor Tõnurist and Ain Sarv, founding members of the group, affirmed my guess, and added that, in order to pass the Soviet censors, the program was declared to be in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. It was not solely a lamentation of hard times, but also satirical and humorous: "Love of life, resistance under the most difficult conditions, these appeared in every song" (Sarv 1977).

The field recording which was played during the performance was sung by Liisu Orik and published on the LP record, Eesti rahvalaule ja pillilugusid (Tallinn: Meloodia, 1970) Side 3B, #V(c) 4.

Songs performed in the concert were: Oh me vaesed tüsed orjad [as above]; Mõisad külas [Laugaste 1976: 236]; Hirmus mõis [Tedre, Vol 2]; Millest herra ilus; Põrgu mõis [Tampere, Vol 5: 198]; Miks me vaesed vaeva näeme [Laugaste 1976: 267]; Mõisast pääs [Mirov et al. 1977: 94]; Mede mõisal laia laane [Tampere Vol 1: 183]; Kupja sajatus [archival]; Kubjas ja teomees [Tampere, Vol 4: 306]; Mis kupjast saab [Laugaste 1976: 161, with Tõnurist's additions]; Hiire seljas teole [Tampere, Vol 5: 190]; Meie herr [Tampere, Vol 5: 194]; Orjatants (dance); Soised maad [Tampere, Vol 5: 192]; Kupjas ja teomees [Regilaulik 113]; Kättemaks sakstele [Tampere, Vol 5, with Tõnurist's additions]; Mõisnikke karistamas [Tedre, Vol II:2, p. 728-729, incomplete text used]; Meie kaks moonameesta [LP record as above]; Saksad surevad, mõisad põlevad ["text is widespread"]. Tõnurist chose melodies from various sources for the songs published without melodies.

"The Song of Estonia," a compilation of serfs' songs, was performed in 1988, at a mass demonstration in Tallinn which was attended by about 100,000 persons. I couldn't find a recording of the actual performance, but was given a sheet of paper on which Tõnurist had written down the words, in case his memory failed him on stage. The melody was that of "Kubjas ja toomees" [Tampere 1964, Vol 4: 306-307].

#### Eestimaa laul

Oh meie härrad ilusad,  
Oh meie saksad saledad,  
Tõuske üles tooli peale,  
Saage üles saali peale,  
tõuske valda vahtimaie,  
Kuidas valda vaevatakse,  
Kihelkonda kiusatakse,  
Pisikesi piinatakse  
Rammetumaid raisatakse

Toompea härrad toredad,  
Peened härrad pealinnast!  
Otsige uusi orjasida,  
Katsuge uusi karjatsida,  
Paluge uusi palgalisi,  
Tellige uusi töötajaid!  
Otsa saavad minu aastad,  
Tehtud minu teopäevad,  
Nähtud minu nädalad,  
Maksa kätte minu palka,  
Orja palka, vaese vaeva!

Kui sa ei maksa siin majanna,  
Ega ei tasu siin tarenna,  
Ei taha ma tasu taeva'assa  
Ei taha ma maksu Marija eessa

Ma läen uuta otsimaie,  
Peremeesta paremada,  
Leivakohta leidamaie,  
Ma läen teista teenimaie,  
Iga päevas uue särgi,  
Nädalas jo valged püksid

Oh meie ärtu ärrakesed,  
Kulda krooni prouakesed,  
Üten uuest ümber jälle,  
Ümber jälle, taas tagasi:

Kui sa ei maksa siin majanna,  
Ega ei tasu siin tarenna,  
Ei taha ma tasu taeva'assa,  
Ei taha ma maksu Marija eessa,  
Otsi endal uusi orjasida,  
Leia uusi leivalisi,

#### The Song of Estonia

Oh, you illustrious lords of ours,  
Oh, you marvelous masters of ours,  
Stand up from your seats,  
Go and gaze out at the people,  
Come to watch over your country,  
See the districts despair,  
See the regions unravel,  
The small suffer,  
The weak are weary.

Oh, you illustrious lords of Tallinn,  
Courageous kings of the capital city,  
Seek out new slaves for yourself,  
Search for new servants,  
Hire new working hands to help you.  
Send for new people to do the work!  
My years are coming to an end,  
My work days are done,  
My working weeks are finished.  
Pay me now,  
My slave's salary, my pauper's pain!

If you don't pay me now and here  
If you don't settle your servant's accounts,  
I don't want pay in heaven,  
I don't want to be repaid by Mary

I'll look for a better master,  
A better boss,  
A place to earn bread,  
I'll go work for someone else,  
Every day a new shirt,  
Clean pants every week.

Oh, you marvelous masters of ours,  
Mistresses with gold crowns  
I'll say it anew, over again,  
Over again, repeatedly:

If you don't pay me now and here  
If you don't settle your servant's accounts,  
I don't want pay in heaven,  
I don't want to be repaid by Mary  
Search out new slaves for yourself,  
Find new servants,

Kes sul söömata elavad,  
Riide'eta teevad tööda.  
Ma'p või söömata elada,  
Teha tööda riide'eta!

Who will work for you without eating,  
Do work without clothing,  
I cannot live without eating,  
Do work without clothing!

### Game-song

"Sõitsin üle Soome silla" has many variants in folk tradition [Rüütel 1983: 207-215]. It was one of many game-songs that Leegajus enjoyed dancing in the winter and summer of 1992. During the song, the group walks, holding hands, in a ring around one or more people; during the refrain, the persons in the center choose partners and dance, then join hands with the others, leaving the partner inside the ring for the next stanza. Perhaps the group liked the song because the "Finnish bridge" had truly opened up, making travel and love possible across the border. Perhaps they liked the descriptions of delicious meals at a time when food prices were skyrocketing, or perhaps they simply enjoyed the alliterative poetry.

Sõitsin üle Soome silla,  
Soome sild see ragisi (2x)  
Alevi, alevi allallaa,  
riivaleruudi rallallaa (2x)  
Soome sild see ragisi,  
aluspalk see pagisi.

I rode across the Finnish bridge,  
the Finnish bridge it rattled.  
[refrain]

The Finnish bridge it rattled,  
the foundation beam it creaked.

Sõitsin äia ukse ette  
teretasin äiapapat.

I rode to the father-in-law's door  
and greeted him.

Tere, tere, äiapapa,  
Kas on kodus teie neiu?

Hello, hello, father-in-law,  
Is your maiden home?

Ei ole kodus meie neiu,  
Ta läks kaevul vetta tooma.

Our maiden is not home,  
She went to the well to get water.

Kas võib sõita kaevuteed?  
Jah, võid sõita kaevuteed!

May I ride the well-road?  
Yes, you may ride the well-road!

Tere, tere, neiukene,  
Kas sa lubad mulle tulla?

Hello, hello, dear maiden,  
Will you promise to come to me?

Mulle tulla, mulle olla  
seni kui eluotsani?

To come to me, to be mine,  
until the end of life?

Rasket tööd ma sul ei anna,  
Suvel sukad kududa.

I won't give you difficult work,  
In summer, knitting socks.

Suvel sukad kududa,  
Talvel takud kedrata.

In summer, knitting socks  
In winter, spinning tow.

Sui sind söödan suhkruga,  
Talvel tabrapudrugaga.

In summer I'll feed you sugar,  
In winter, buckwheat porridge.

Sügisel saad sealiha,  
Kevadel saad kanamuna.

In autumn you'll get pork,  
In spring you'll get a chicken egg.

### Non-Estonian Songs in the Informal, International Encounter.

During the period of Soviet rule, the Ministry of Culture placed restrictions on all public concerts: Permission to hold concerts was given only to groups which demonstrated the "brotherly friendship of the Soviet peoples," by including songs of Soviet republics other than their own, preferably new Russian-language compositions extolling Soviet patriotism. Leegajus was among the first Baltic folklore ensembles to discover a method of bypassing such detested songs in concerts. Because their repertoire consisted of only archaic folklore, they argued, the newer pieces could not be included in their concerts. Instead, to demonstrate the ideals of international friendship, they would sing the archaic folksongs of other Soviet nations.

By the late 1980's, the requirement for international content in folklore performances was dropped along with all other government censorship, and folklore ensembles only rarely performed foreign songs on stage. They did, however, continue a heartfelt tradition of trading songs with foreign ensembles, during the informal meetings which lie behind the public performances at international festivals.

Upon my departure from Estonia in March of 1992, Leegajus held a party in my honor. Soon after all of the members had gathered in their rehearsal room (the women had arrived earlier and set a scrumptious table), the singing began. I had usually been seen by the group members as a Latvian, and they therefore sang in my honor "Ūsi, ūsi," a song from Eastern Latvia.

The history of "Ūsi, ūsi" is interesting: Leegajus had learned this song in the late 1970's from Mārtiņš Boiko, a Latvian ethnomusicologist, who had in turn recorded the song in the Auleja district of Eastern Latvia. At a folklore festival in Riga in the early 1980's, Leegajus was the first group ever to perform this song in front of the Latvian public. The song about the nightingale and its haunting melody, which reminded some persons in Leegajus of the harmonies of Southeast Estonia, caught the fancy of the Latvians, and soon came to be a song common in the repertoire of many Latvian groups. On that evening in Tallinn, "Ūsi, ūsi" was followed by a lengthy chain of non-Estonian songs: Tuule Kann, who learned Lithuanian while studying at Vilnius University, led a Lithuanian song; other songs included those of Finno-Ugric nations (Karelians, Finns, and Livs), a Norwegian song and a Swedish song (led by Ain Sarv, who speaks Swedish), and even a humorous Russian song. The members of Leegajus truly enjoy singing folksongs in many languages, and for this reason I have included one such song.

Ūsi, ūsi, kad lapuosi  
Ai, ai, kad lapuosi?  
Visi kūceņi lapuoja,  
Ai, ai i lapuoja,  
Ūsis vieni nelapuoja;  
Ai, ai...  
Ūseitisi tad lapuoja,  
Kad dziedāja laksteigola.  
Laksteigola krūni pyna  
Munā rūžu dorzeņā;  
Ne man mīga, ne darbēja,  
Laksteigolas jiezaklausa.

Ash tree, ash tree, when will you get your leaves?  
[refrain]  
All the other trees have leaved,  
  
The ash alone does not have leaves.  
  
The ash sprouts leaves  
When the nightingale sings.  
The nightingale wove a crown  
In my rose garden;  
I have no sleep nor can I work,  
Listening to the nightingale.

## APPENDIX VI

### SKANDINIEKI: MEMBERSHIP, HISTORY, REPERTOIRE

This appendix supplements Chapter Four with information about *Skandinieki*, the Latvian folklore ensemble sponsored by the Open-Air Museum in Rīga. It provides a list of members, a list of documented concerts 1976-1992, and a brief overview of the group's repertoire.

#### Members of *Skandinieki*, 1976-1992

About 110 persons have been members of *Skandinieki* since its founding in 1976. Few written documents of membership exist, because the group's leaders did not want such lists of names to be discovered by the KGB. The list of members illustrates several points: Ten members listed below belong to the Grasis/Grass/Stalte clan. These persons have made up the core of the ensemble since its founding (see discussion of kin relations among ensemble members, Chapter 4). At least nine of the group's past or present members also lead ensembles of their own, showing how *Skandinieki* have branched out and broadened the folklore movement. Note that visitors from abroad were welcomed in the ensemble's membership and rehearsals as well as performances.

Sources: The following list was constructed in interviews with Dainis and Helmī Stalte. Time did not allow me to record as many individual details as appear in the appendices describing *Ratilio* and *Leegajus*.

Abbreviations: FE= folklore ensemble; MS= middle school

Ābols, Valdis		Gžibovska, Ināra	1978-79
Anteniške, Ance	1990-	Jansone, Daija	1982
(Asare, Andra, see Reinholde)		Jansone, Karīna	1982
Bārdiņš, Edgars	1976-79	Jansone, Mārite	1982
Barone, Liene	1987-	Jonkus, Staņislavs	1986-
Baumane, Signe	1987	Jurkovskis, Valdis	1986-89
Bērziņa, Una	1990-	Kandele, Danuta	1977-80
Bērziņa, Vaiva	1990-91	Klepers, Jānis	1982
Bērziņš(?), Jānis	1979	Kļaviņa, Ilze (USA)	
Blaževics, Vilnis	1976-79	Kļujeva, Zoja	1981-
Cukura, Daina	1979	Krēslīņa, Līga	1979-85
Čakste, Jānis	1982-86	Krēslīņš, Egils	1979-85
Čakste, Māris	1982-86	Krūmala, Renāte	1988
Čakste, Mārtiņš	1982-86	Kvelde, Anta	1981
Čakste, Zaiga	1982-86	(Kvelde, Dace, see Vītola)	
Dauvarte, Ilze		Ķīgele, Brigita	1985-
(Dreimane, Daiga, see Rūtiņa)		Lāce, Linda	1979-81
Dzenis, Juris	1985	Lasmane, Ilze	1982
Gailis, Jānis	1988-	(founded FE at Rozentāls Art School)	
Gasparovičs, Jāzeps	1985-	Leja, Velta	1979
Grase, Maruta		(leads <i>Saviesī</i> )	
Grasis, Austris (West Germany)		Livdāns, Ēriks	1985
Grasis, Uldis (West Germany)		Māldere, Ērika	1990
Grasmane, Dace	1979, 1988-	Medene, Iveta	1990-
Grass, Ineta	1982	Medenis, Vidvuds	1988-
Grass, Klāvs	1977	Meisters, Vilis	1976
Grass, Tenis	1976-90	Mekša, X	1987
Gustsone, Aija	1976-79	Mekšs, Pēteris	1987

Mežs, Ilmārs	1983-89	Stalta, Marga	1976-
Missūne, Rita	1986-	(leads Rīga MS #47 FE <i>Urdaviņa</i> )	
Muktupāvels, Māris	1979	Stalte, Helmī	1976-
Muktupāvels, Valdis	1979-83	Stalte, Julgī	1979-
Nītauska, Diāna	1986-	(leads <i>Skandinieki</i> children's FE)	
Ose, Ārīte	1980	Stalts, Dainis	1976-
Ose, Mārīte	1976-79	Stalts, Dāvis	1983-
(leads 2 children's FE's: Rīga		Stalts, Oskars	1976-
Castle <i>Kokle</i> and Jūrmala/Dubulti <i>Jauntba</i> )		Stalts, Raigo	1976-
Ošs, Māris	1976-79	Stalts, Ričards	1976-
Pakalniņa, Ieva	1990-	Stiebrīšs, Jānis	1976-79
Petrovskis, Gundars	1982	Studēte, Ramona	1991-
Pone, Elga (USA)		Students, Rolands	1991-
(leads <i>Teiksmā</i> in Minneapolis, MN)		Valpētere, Māra	1982-
Pone, Gunta (USA)		(leads Rīga MS #58 FE)	
Pone, Sarma (USA)		Vanags, Jānis	1979-85
Pone, Zinta (USA)		Vasariņš, Pēteris	1982
Porīšis, Jānis	1982-92	Veiskate, Rita	1979-
Raņķe, Kristīne	1983	Veiskats, Guntis	1979-85
Raņķe, Rita	1983	Vītola, Dace (Kvelde)	1982-85
Raņķis, Ivars	1983	Vītola, Valda	1982-
Reinholde, Andra (Asare)	1979	(leads Rīga MS #49 FE <i>Trejdeviņi</i> )	
Reizniece, Ilga	1981-88	Vītols, Jānis	1979-85
(founded <i>Iļģi</i> )		Zemzare, Zinta	1976-79
Riekstiņa, Inta	1986	X, Ilmārs	1985
Rode, Ojārs	1982	X, Jānis	1982
(founded <i>Budēži</i> )		X, Martelīna (Norway)	1991
Rozīte, Inga	1990-	X, Mudīte	1991
Rozītis, Kristaps	1990-		
Rūtiņa, Daiga (Dreimane)	1986-89		
Rūtiņš, Andris (USA)	1987-89		
Skujeniece, Mārīte	1982		
Skujenieks, Jānis	1982		
Skujenieks, Knuts	1982		
Sovere, Līga	1986		
(leads Latv Agricultural Acad. FE)			
Staley, Jim (USA)	1991		

### Skandinieki. Performances 1976-1992

This incomplete list of performances includes significant events in the history of Skandinieki. Few of the ensemble's performances could be included in this history, because published or even written records of the group's performances are rare.

Sources of information: Interviews with Dainis and Helmī Stalte, program lists from their personal archive (marked with an asterisk\*, see also the section about "Repertoire" below), published sources in square brackets [ ].

Abbreviations: KBM=Krišjānis Barons Memorial Museum, Rīga; OAM=Open-Air Museum, Rīga; RPI=Rīga Polytechnical Institute Student Club (Anglican Church).

#### 1976

Nov 11: Dainis Stalts brings Latvian soldiers' songs to a Līvlist rehearsal, and decides that he must start a new group.

#### 1977

The name, Skandinieki, is chosen by the group. Separate rehearsals begin, though the members continue to perform also with Līvlist.

Performances: May 16 ("first significant performance", Cesvaine, Butter and Cheese Factory); Sometime in spring (OAM); December? Finnish Independence Day celebration, official friendship meeting between Līvlist and Finnish representatives, Dainis Stalts reads letter by Gorkii as a warning to Finns. Opening ceremonies of Auseklis Memorial Museum.

#### 1978

Performances: Jun 3-4: OAM, Annual Market, "Skandinieks" (sic!) mentioned among the various performing artists [Marherte 1978].

#### 1979

[Article about Skandinieki, Alders 1979]

Some members leave Skandinieki and found Sendziesma.

Performances: Soldiers' songs at Rīga Amateur Art Collectives Overview Concert.

#### 1980

Skandinieki stop performing together with Līvlist.

Performances: July 9, Midsummer's songs, University of Latvia Main Hall, Rīga [Skujenieks 1980].



## 1981

In Spring, the OAM offers its sponsorship to Skandinieki.

Performances: January (Folklore and Ethnographic ensembles concert, Viļāni, Latvia [Jurciņš 1981]); May (OAM, International Museum Day [Eka 1981]); May 30-31 (Ethnographic and Folklore Ensembles' Meeting, Folk Music and Folklore Festival, Ogre [Čaklā 1981a]); Sep 26 (Latgale Folklore Day, Rēzekne [Čaklā 1981b]); Nov 1 (A. Jurjāns 125-year Anniversary Folklore Days, Rīga [Bergmanis 1981, Kravalis 1981]).

## 1982

Performances: Jan 30 (P. Korāts memorial [Priedīte 1982a]); March (performance for an American delegation from Brooklyn [Dzimtenes Balss 1 April 1982: 2]); March (Folk Art Day, Jelgava [Krišjānis 1982]); May (OAM, International Museum Day); May (performance at OAM, for a French delegation [Mežavilka 1982]); July 25 (Republic-Wide Ethnographic and Folklore Ensemble Overview Concert, Aizpute [Priedīte 1982b, Spertāle 1982]).

Recording Sessions: Rīgas Kinostudija films a name-giving ceremony at the OAM [Dzimtenes Balss 1982,1: 4]; Rīga Recording Studio (published in 1988); Stalts family recorded by Estonian TV (published 1989). Two records were published sometime after this year, which were unavailable for examination: one of instrumental music, the other with game-songs [see Muktupāvels 1985].

Performances outside of Latvia: May 23: (with Ratilio and Leningrad Conservatory Folklore Ensemble), Skamba, skamba kankliai Folklore Festival, Sarbijevijus Courtyard, Vilnius [photo, Literatūra ir Menas 29 May 1982, page 2].

## 1983

No records found from this year. KGB harassment of the Stalts family is intense.

## 1984

Performances outside of Latvia: November (USSR Composers' Union Folklore Commission, Moscow).

Recording Sessions: Skandinieki perform songs in a documentary film about Krišjānis Barons.

## 1985

Performances in Latvia: Jan 18 (OAM); Feb 28 (Latvian Agricultural Academy, Jelgava); Mar 20 (Cultural and Educational Workers' Institute, Rīga); Jul 19-21 (Barons anniversary celebration during the Latvian National Song Festival, OAM, Rīga); Sep 29 (Barons anniversary, Dundaga); Oct 5 (Baltic Musicologists' Conference, Rīga [See Ose 1987:141-142, Noskovs 1987: 147, Pijols 1987: 148]); Oct 25-27 (Barons memorial celebration [Čaklā 1985]).

Performances outside of Latvia: Nov 22 (Moscow [Daugmalis 1987]).

## 1986

Performances in Latvia: \*Oct 31 (Barons anniversary, KBM); \*Nov 1-2 (two concerts in honor of Barons, RPI); \*Nov 11 (Skandinieki 10-year anniversary, RPI); \*Nov 23 (Museum of History and Shipping, Riga); \*Nov 28 (KBM); \*Nov 29 (Art Workers' Hall).

Performances outside of Latvia: Jun 1 (Vilnius, Alumnatas Courtyard, Skamba, skamba kankliai Folklore Festival); \*Dec 7 (Moscow, USSR Ministry of Culture Folklore Workshop).

Published Recordings: Bootleg recordings of funeral songs published on Celatiesi bālelīņi! (Hamburg: Kultūras Glābšanas Biedrība, LF 001).

## 1987

Performances in Latvia: \*Jan 23 (KBM); \*Jan 24 (Krimulda Middle School); \*Jan 30 (KBM); \*Mar 20 (KBM); \*Mar 27 (KBM); \*Apr 3 (KBM); \*Apr 5 (History Museum, Rīga); \*Apr 7 (Art Workers' Hall); \*Apr 10 (KBM); \*Apr 10 (Art Workers' Hall); \*Apr 15 (Durbe); \*Apr 19 (Roja); \*Apr 30 ("Komunārs" Retirement Home, Rīga); \*Aug 15 (OAM); \*Aug 15 (Rainis Museum of Literature and Art); \*Aug 17 (OAM).

Performances outside of Latvia: Jul 10-12 (Lahemaa, Estonia, *Viru sārū* Folklore Festival (31 members on ensemble list); Jul 14-19 (Lithuania, *Baltica '87* Folklore Festival); \*Nov 28-29 (Kaunas, Lithuania).

Recording Sessions: Jul 10-12: Filmed at *Viru sārū* Folklore Festival by Estonian TV and Finnish TV.

## 1988

Performances in Latvia: \*Jan 20 (Rainis Museum of Literature and Art, Rīga); \*Feb 20 (Rainis Museum of Literature and Art); \*Mar 4 (Art Workers' Hall, Rīga); \*Mar 5 (Ādaži Middle School); \*Mar 18 (Tukums Middle School #2); July: *Baltica '88* Folklore Festival.

Published Recordings: LP record, Divi duči rotaļu kopā ar "Skandiniekiem" (Rīga: Melodija, ©1982).

## 1989

Performances in Latvia: February 9 (founding of the Fricis Brīvzemnieks Association [Meinerte 1989]).

Performances outside of Latvia: July (Estonia, *Baltica '89* Folklore Festival).

Published Recordings: Six Livonian songs sung by the Stalts family recorded at Tallinn TV Studio, 1982. LP record, Soome-ugri rahvaste laule: Liivi (Melodija MONO M30-48883-003).

## 1990

I attended the performances in Latvia which are listed below, and the ensemble's concert in Chicago in May, 1990.

Performances in Latvia: July 6 (OAM, folklore festival held during the Latvian National Song Festival), Jul 7 (National Song Festival procession); Jul 10 (OAM, concert/celebration with friends from abroad).

Performances outside of Latvia: Spring, (24 members on USA tour); Summer (Finland, Kaustinen Folklore Festival); Winter (Norway).

## 1991

I attended most of the events listed below during my stays in Latvia, June 30 to September 9, 1991, and December 8, 1991, to January 2, 1992.

Rehearsals: Jul 8, 14, Dec 13

Performances in Latvia: Jul 6 (OAM; afterwards, group members help set up the areas where the *Baltica* festival opening will take place); Jul 8-14— *Baltica '91* Folklore Festival: Jul 8 (Dome Square, with *Jumaleņa* and Rikava Ethnographic Ensemble); Jul 9 (Dome Square, dance evening); Jul 10 (several concerts at *Baltica '91* opening); Jul 11 (RPI); Jul 11 (festival procession; concert in the National Theater); Jul 12 (several concerts at Finno-Ugric Day, Turaida, including religious ceremony in Turaida Church, Livonian songs at Turaida Castle, and songs and dances by the Livonian Stone in Dainu Park); Jul 12 (dancing in Dome Square); Jul 13 (concert for friends from abroad, Dannenšterna House); Jul 13 (unofficial dancing, Mazā gilde); Jul 14 (festival closing concert, Song Festival Stage); Jul 20 (OAM, Kurzeme homestead); Jul 27 (OAM, Vidzeme and Kurzeme homesteads); Aug 2 (*krustabas*/name-giving ceremony for Matīss Nītausks, OAM, Livonian homestead); Aug 10 (OAM); Aug 23 (Rīga Castle Tower, "Flaming Baltic Way" mass demonstration); Aug 25 (Turaida, Dainu Park); Aug 31 (OAM), Dec 20 (Winter Solstice concert, RPI); Dec 21 (Old Town Rīga, Jāņa sēta).

Performances outside of Latvia: Jul 15-23 (Finland); September 1 (Independence festival, Vilnius, Lithuania, with *Leegajus* and *Ratilio*).

## 1992

I attended most of the events listed below during my stays in Latvia, April 1 to May 11, 1992, and June 1 to July 1, 1992.

Rehearsals: Apr 10, 28; May 5.

Performances in Latvia: Apr 15 (OAM, for American government delegation); Apr 21 (Latvia-Switzerland Friendship Society celebration, Mazā gilde, Rīga); Apr 24 (International Environmental Protection Conference, Bīriņu Estate); May 8 (Rūdolfs Heimrāts funeral, Rīga); Jun 13 (OAM, Livonian farmstead); Jun 20 (three concerts: OAM, Livonian farmstead; Rīga retirement home; Jūrmala Midsummer's celebration); Jun 23-24 (Midsummer's celebration, farmstead of Mārtiņš Heimrāts).

Recording Sessions: Apr 15 (LTV, "Pūt vējiņi" documentary, filmed in OAM tavern); Apr (Midsummer's songs, Reformed Church, Rīga).

Published Recordings: Midsummer's songs. Cassette tape, Līgo! Lai top! Līgosim kopā ar Folkloras draugu kopu "Skandinijki" (Rīga: Ritonis, SK01-0020 Stereo).

### Skandinieki: Repertoire

From the group's founding, and in particular after it gained official affiliation with the Open Air Museum, Skandinieki followed a very intense concert schedule. Helmī and Dainis Stalti frequently changed the performance programs, constantly stressing the importance of singing songs, word for word, exactly as they had been recorded in oral tradition. Their main sources of songs were the published scholarly collections edited by Emīlis Melngailis (1949, 1951-53) and Jēkabs Vītoliņš (1958, 1968, 1971, 1973, 1986). The members of Skandinieki, and Dainis Stalts in particular, have themselves recorded many songs during fieldwork in the Latvian countryside.

The Stalti found in their files thirteen program lists prepared for concerts in 1986, 1987, and 1988 (programs had to be officially approved by censors before every public concert), which are presented below. The lists may not reflect actual performances, because the ensemble often improvised or made unauthorized additions during performances. They do, however, give titles of songs which the ensemble knew well at a given time, and show the general thematic content at different occasions.

The total number of items in the thirteen programs summarized below (115 Latvian songs, 6 Livonian songs, 13 game-songs and 18 dances or rituals) does not remotely approach the size of the ensemble's actual repertoire. I repeatedly saw members of the group respond on the spur of the moment to some event or person present at the performance, evidence that the individual repertoires from which draws songs are very large — a total group repertoire of many hundreds, perhaps even thousands of songs.

The final sections of this Appendix give examples of songs which have been prominent in the group's history. A newspaper report published in 1982, for example, quoted a song ("Tādi viri kungam tika") which reflected the group's battle against alcohol at that time. Soldiers' songs ("Nu ardievu, Vidzemīte") were popular from the group's founding years on (see program for 20 January 1988 below, for example). Songs of battle ("Rīgā iešu es, māmiņa") which surfaced during the independence movement in the late eighties also carried messages of Latvian patriotism. Performances changed with the change of seasons. The Midsummer's songs quoted in Chapter One, for example, are

sung only in late June or early July, while concerts in March and April inevitably include spring songs, and autumn concerts usually have songs of the traditional harvest. In the early eighties, songs and rituals related to the rites of passage —kūmības/name-giving, wedding and funeral ("Tēvu tēvi laipas met," "Ej, māsiņa, tautiņās," "Pūšat taures, bāleliņi")— and songs about the dead ("Māte savas meitas sauca") left a deep impact on audiences in Lithuania and Estonia as well as in Latvia. Skandinieki showed that these folklore traditions were a vital part of the singers' lives and beliefs (see program for the Baltica Festival in Vilnius, July 1987, as well as the program for 11 November 1986, a memorial for the spirits of ancestors, veli). Songs about the supernatural world, and mythological songs ("Divejādi saule tek") reveal the worldview of the group's members.

#### Anti-Alcohol Songs in the Early Eighties: Newspaper report

We're sitting at a banquet table in Alsunga, and Dainis [Stalts] says, "Let's sing that song of ours. The one we sing before banquets."

It resounds through the beer mugs and porridge bowls, through the peas and appetizers:

Tādi vīri kungam tika,  
Kas dzer alu, brandavīnu.  
Nu tik visi aušigie  
Klausīgi, klausīgi.  
Vagarīte priecājas.  
Tie nodzēra tēvu zemi,  
Tēvu tēvu padomīu.

The master likes men  
Who drink beer and liquor.  
All of the upstarts  
Become obedient, obedient.  
The overseer is happy.  
They drank away the fatherland  
And the wisdom of the ancestors.

Honestly, after a song like this one even the most avid drinker of strong spirits will refrain from getting drunk [Bergmanis 1982].

#### Performance program, 31 Oct 1986 (KBM, Barons Birthday), 1 and 2 Nov 1986 (RPI):

Teic, māmiņa, tu dziesmiņu; Bandinieka rudzi auga; Daugaviņa, māmuliņa; Atminiet, labi ļaudis; Pusrītā saule lēca; Veļu upe pārplūdusi; Kokles meldijas (instrumental); Maziņš biju, neredzēju; Es redzēju ciemiņos; Bij' mane vienami; Diždancis (dance); Ne bieži jāju; Zaglis (dance); Dej, eglīte, lec, eglīte (ritual song); Pūšat taures, bāleļiņi; Sieviņ, brauc mežā; Lien, pelīte, caur zemīti; (game-songs).

Performance program, 11 Nov 1986 (RPI, Skandinieki ten-year anniversary concert, 19:00 o'clock):

- 1) Guests and Skandinieki all dance a zigzag around the room, then stop, facing the table. Skandinieki stand to the right (from the entrance).
- 2) A song of the Veļi (ancestor spirits). Memorial of the veļi. There will be 9 such memorials, during each of which a candle is lit on the table and an appropriate song is sung.
- 3) After the Veļi memorial, when their blessing has been received, the tablecloth is turned upside down. With a lit candle, I go 3 X around the banquet table and the song is sung, Ēdiet, dzeriet veļu mātes svētīti.
- 4) The first banquet follows.
- 5-10) Bells are rung. In the subsequent activities, this signals transition to the next activity. I go to the center of the room with a song and a lit candle, then, in the order that they joined Skandinieki, each member lights their candle while singing. Together with the close friends, the group walks in a ring singing Visi ceļi guniem pilni.
- 11) Garais dancis, followed by other festive dances.
- 12) Ringing the bells, other groups led by our people give greetings. These continue throughout the evening, interspersed with dances and game-songs.

At 23:00 o'clock we drive ourselves away, as well as the film technicians and the people who accompany them...

Performance program, 23 Nov 1986 (Rīga Museum of History and Shipping), 28 Nov 1986 (KBM); 29 Nov 1986 (Art Workers' Hall):

Apajais mēness (dance); Atminieti, labi ļaudis; Dzied pa priekšu, brāļa māsa!; Saules meita ceļu slauka; Bērziņš auga ceļmalā; Dej, eglīte, lec, eglīte! (dance); Alšvangas četrpāru dancis (dance); Smagi, smagi jūrja krjāce; Aurēdama, Vēja māte; Tšitšorlinkist; Baltaitiņa jūrjā pelde; Kokles melodiju virtene (instrumental); Rīgā jāju lielu, mēlu; Citureizi mana māte; Ar laiviņu ielaidosi; Tēvis, tēvis, tais man' laivu!; Dai, cytas meitas priļus auž; Rudens bolss; Maltuves dziesma; Kaut man būtu tā naudīpa; Cirulīt, mazputniņ, negul ceļa malīnā; Par ko manim līkas kājas; Aic, vāciet, vella bērns!; Lai bij' vārdi, kam bij' vārdi; Visi ceļi guniem pilni.

Performance program, 7 Dec 1986 (Moscow, All-Soviet Folklore Seminar):

Sadzīdami, mēs, muosepis!; Atminati, labi ļaudis!; Tšitšorlinkist (Livonian); Dziedat, meitas, vakarā!; Dzied pa priekšu, brāļa māsa!; Meža, meža es meitiņa; Pirmo šuvu pūra kreklū; Saules meita kroņus pina; Tumsināi, vakarāi; maltuves dziesma; Leigū balss; Gatves dancis (dance); Leigū balss; Kas rībe, kas dimde?; Dej, eglīte, lec, eglīte! (ritual song); Sieviņ' brauca mežā; Rīgā jāju lielu mēlu; Nogodāju rudzus, miežus.

Performance program, 23 and 30 Jan 1987 (KBM) and 24 Jan 1987 (Krimulda Middle School):

Nāc, nākdami, Metenīti; Vizu, vizu, Metenīti; Padejo'i saimeniece (dance); Lec, ķekati, kur lēkdami; Neguli, saulīte (game-song); Miesmeti, malnaci!; Tumsināi, vakarāi; Ārmazo jemā (Livonian); Vilks un kaza (game-song); Ar bērīti slaidi laižu; Budēlīti, tēvainīti; Neguļu, neguļu.

Performance program, 20 Mar, 27 Mar, 3 Apr, and 10 Apr 1987 (KBM), and 7 Apr and 10 Apr 1987 (Art Workers' Hall):

Brāļi, brāļi, Liela diena; Agri lēca saulīte; Nākat, putnu dzinējipi; Nakariti šeupeleiša; Karit, broļi, šeupeleiti; Saulīt, mana krustamāte; Ik rītipu saule lēca; Skan balsinis rītā agri; Skali dziedu, gavilēju; Biūt, tavu šuvumiņu; Kalnā balta ieva ziedi; Ččorlinkist (Livonian); Dziedat, meitas, vakarā; Kas rībe, kas dimde; Dej', eglīte, lec, eglīte!; Lien, pelīte, caur zemīti; Sieviņ' brauca mežā (game-song); Kodeļa, sprēsliņa (game-song).

Performance program, 5 Apr 1987 (Rīga, History Museum), 15 Apr 1987 (Durbe), 19 Apr 1987 (Roja), 30 Apr 1987 (Rīga, "Komunārs" boarding-house):

Kalnā baltas ievas ziede; Te man tika, te dziedāju; Skan balsinis rītā agri; Tšitšorlinkist (Livonian); Rūtoju saule, rūtoj bite; Dziedat, meitas vakarā!; Idāno, izāno (Livonian); Kariet, brāļi, šupolītes; Dimdaru, damdaru, ozoliņi! (game-song); Zem ozola nesēdēj'! (game-song); Zvejnieks mani aicināja (game-song); Zaglis (dance); Trīsrocīņš (dance); Vēja māte aurēdama; Es uzkāpu kalnā; Sarkandaiļa roze auga; Pati māte savu dēlu; Arājiņi, ecētāji!

Performance program, 14-19 July 1987 (Baltica Festival, Vilnius, Lithuania, wedding songs and rituals):

Ar laiviņu ielaidosi; Diždancis (dance); Dej, eglīte, lec, eglīte (wedding ritual song); Ej, māsiņa, tautiņāsi; Gotiņ, manu raibulīt; Dai, citas meitas priļus auž (dance); Kur tu īsi, cīma puisi? (dance); Vai, vecākais bāleliņi; Zaglis (Livonian dance); Minā poliz Jumālost (Livonian); Laggogid, rūjmogid (Livonian); Apaļdancis (dance).

Performance program, 15 Aug 1987 (OAM and J. Rainis Museum of Literature and Art) and 17 Aug 1987 (OAM):

Trīs gadi ganos; Gani, gani, ganu meita; Rīb, rība tiltiņš; Baltaitiņa jūru pelda; Kudlaipais āzīt's (game-song); Pusrītāi saule lēca; Gatves dancis (dance); Garais dancis (dance); Alšvaņģietis (dance); Jūras māte man prasīja; Ai, dzeltenā linu druva! Rīgā jāju lielu mellu (dance); Gan, gan zirdziņus (game-song); Šurp, visi bērni (game-song); Ai, kad es būtu to zinājis!; Daugaviņa, melnacīte; Saulīt vēl vakarāi; Māte savas meitas sauca; Pati māte savu dēlu; Bumburjānis bumburēja; Sadziedami, mēs, bāliņi!

Performance program, 28-29 November 1987 (Kaunas, Lithuania):

Arājiņi-ecētāji; Liepnas talku balss; Nedūd Dīvsi šūdin lieta; Lela tolka, moza tolka; Ai, dzeltenā linu druva; Sadziedami visa rija; Pērkonītis (dance); Kuļam pieci, kuļam seši; Es izkūlu kungu riju; Elle, elle kunga rija (dance); Es iegāju maltuvē; Malējiņa malt iedam'; Padejoi snimenece (dance); Nogodēju rudzus, miežus; Kūmu dziesmas— Es redzēju ciemiņosi; Kas rībe, kas dimde; Apaļais mēness (dance); Veries, skauģiti; Pādes didīšana (dance); Kur tie dzima, gudri vīri; Kas ū speid (game-song); Neliec mani, māmuliņa; Tēvu tēvi laipas met; Visi ceļi guniem pilni.

Performance program, 20 Jan 1988 (Rainis Museum of Literature and Art):

Pati māte savu dēlu; Sarkandaiļa roze auga; Ai, bāliņi, ai, bāliņi; Es karāi aiziedams; Apkārt kalnu gāju; Aši, aši zīle dziedā; Div' dūjiņas gaisā skrēja; Ligo laiva uz ūdeņa; Kur tu teci, gailīt' manu?; Nu ardievu, Vidzemīt; Kas kaitēja nekaroti; Marseljēzas lokalizējums; Nāc uz nāves salu; Rīgas puikas tiltu taisa; Saimniekam cūkas zuda; Aizjāja latvietis pa pasauli tālu; Ak, Latvija, kur tavi dēli?; Klusa, klusa latvju sēta; Karavīri bēdājās; Nav skaitā lieli mūsu pulki; E, kur stalti karavīri!

Performance program, 20 February 1988 (Rainis Museum of Literature and Art), 4 March 1988 (Art Workers' Hall); 5 March 1988 (Ādaži Middle School):

Atminiēti, labi ļaudis; Divejādi saule teka; Daugaviņa, melnacīte; Kur tie dzima, gudri vīri; Es karāi aiziedams; Ai, bāliņi, ai, bāliņi; Sarkandaiļa roze auga; Tēvu tēvi laipas met; Pusrītāi saule lēca; Saskait, māmiņ, savas meitas; Ejme, ejme muoseņas; Nu ardievu, Vidzemīte; Pūgš tūlš — Pūt, vējiņi; Nāc nākdamis, Metenūti; Meteni, (title incomplete).

Performance program, 18 March 1988 (Tukums Middle School #2):

Dziedat, meitas, vakarā; Kalnā balta ieva ziede; Bifīt tavu šuvumiņu; Skan balsinis rītā agri; Brāļi, brāļi, liela diena; Nākat putnu dzinējiņi; Nakarīti šyupeleiša; Atet muna Lela dīna (game-song); Bagātais un nabadziņš (game song); Neguli saulīte (game song).

### Overview of Songs in Thirteen Concert Programs, 1986-88:

Songs, game-songs (*rotāļas*), ritual songs and dances listed in the thirteen performance programs, 1986-1988 appear below in alphabetical order. Numbers in parentheses indicate that an item was performed in more than one program.

#### Latvian Songs (115)

Agri lēca saulīte; Ai, dzeltenā linu druva!; Ai, bāliņi, ai, bāliņi (2); Ai, kad es būtu to zinājis!; Ai, dzeltenā linu druva; Ai, vācieti, vella bērns!; Aizāja latvietis pa pasauli tālu; Ak, Latvija, kur tavi deli?; Apkārt kalnu gāju; Ar bērīti slaidi laižu; Ar laiviņu ielaidosi (2); Arājiņi, ecētāji! (2); Aši, aši zīle dziedā; Atmināti, labi ļaudis! (4); Aurēdama, Vēja māte; Baltaitiņa jūrjā pelde (2); Bandinieka rudzi auga; Bērziņš auga ceļmalāi; Bij' mane vienami; Bitīt, tavu šuvumiņu (2); Brāļi, brāļi, liela diena (2); Budēlīti, tēvainīti; Bumburjānis bumburēja; Cīruļīt, mazputniņ, negul ceļa maliņā; Citureizi mana māte; Daugaviņa, māmuliņa; Daugaviņa, melnacīte (2); Div' dūjiņas gaisā skrēja; Divejādi saule teka; Dzied pa priekšu, brāļa māsā! (2); Dziedat, meitas vakarā! (4); E, kur stalti karavīri!; Ej, māsiņa, tautiņāsi; Ejme, ejme muoseņas; Es uzkāpu kalnā; Es redzēju ciemiņos (2); Es iegāju maltuvē; Es karā aiziedams (2); Es izkūlu kungu riju; Gani, gani, ganu meita; Gotiņ, manu raibulīt; Ik rītiņu saule lēca; Jūras māte man prasīja; Kalnā balta ieva ziede (3); Karavīri bēdājās; Kariet, brāļi, šupolītes; Karit, broļi, šupeleiti; Kas rībe, kas dimde? (3); Kas kaitēja nekaroti; Kaut man būtu tā naudīņa; Klusa, klusa latvju sēta; Kuļam pieci, kuļam seši; Kur tie dzima, gudri vīri (2); Kur tu teci, gaiļīt' manu?; Lai bij' vārdi, kam bij' vārdi; Lec, ķekati, kur lēkdami; Leigū balss; Leigū balss (same concert, different song); Lela tolka, moza tolka; Lien, pelīte, caur zemīti (2); Liepnaš talku balss; Līgo laiva uz ūdeņa; Malējiņa malt iedam'; Maltuves dziesma (2); Marseljēzas lokalizējums; Māte savas meitas sauca; Mazinš biju, neredzāju; Meteni, (title incomplete); Meža, meža es meitiņa; Miesmeti, malnaci!; Nāc uz nāves salu; Nāc nākdami, Metenīti (2); Nakarīti šupeleiša (2); Nākat, putnu dzinējiņi (2); Nav skaitā lieli mūsu pulki; Ne bieži jāju; Nedūd Dīvisi šūdin lieta; Neguļu, neguļu; Neliec mani, māmuliņa; Nogodāju rudzus, miežus (2); Nu ardievu, Vidzemīte (2); Par ko manim likas kājas; Pati māte savu dēlu (3); Pirmo šuvu pūra kreklū; Pūšat taures, bāleini; Pusrītā saule lēca (3); Rīb, rība tiltiņš; Rīgas puikas tiltu taisa; Rudens bolss; Rūtuoj saule, rūtoj bite; Sadzīdami, mēs, muoseņi!; Sadziedami, mēs, bāliņi!; Sadziedami visa rija; Saimniekam cūkas zuda; Sarkandaiļa roze auga (3); Saskait, māmīņ, savas meitas; Saules meita ceļu slauka; Saules meita kroņus pina; Saulīt, mana krustamāte; Saulīt vēlu vakarāi; Skāļi dziedu, gavilēju; Skan balsinis rītā agri (4); Smagi, smagi jūrja krjāce; Te man tika, te dziedāju; Teic, māmīņa, tu dziesmiņu; Tēvis, tēvis, tais man' laivu!; Tēvu tēvi laipas met (2); Trīs gadi ganos; Tumsināi, vakarāi (2); Vai, vecākais bāleliņi; Vēja māte aurēdama; Veju upe pārplūdusi; Veries, skauģīti; Vizu, vizu, Metenīti.

#### Livonian Songs (6)

Ārmazo jemā; Idāno, izāno; Laggogid, rūjmogid; Minā poliz Jumālost; Pūģš tūlš — Pūt, vējiņi; Tšitšorlinkist (4);

#### Game-Songs (13)

Atet muna Lela dīna; Bagātais un nabadziņš (game song); Dimdaru, damdaru, ozoliņi!; Gan, gan zirdziņus; Kas ū speid; Kodeļa, sprēsliņa; Kudlaipais āzīt's; Neguli saulīte (2); Sieviņ' brauca mežā (3); Šurp, visi bērni; Vilks un kaza; Zem ozola nesēdēj'!; Zvejnieks mani aicināja.

#### Dances, Ritual Songs (18)

Alšvangas četrpāru dancis; Alšvangietis; Apaļais mēness (2); Apaļdancis; Dai, citas meitas priļus auž (2); Dej, eglīte, lec, eglīte (5); Diždancis (2); Elle, elle kunga rija; Garais dancis (3); Gatves dancis; Kur tu īsi, cīma puisī?; Padejo'i saimeniece (2); Pādes dīdīšana; Pērkonītis; Rīgā jāju lielu mellu (3); Trīsrocīņš; Visi ceļi guniem pilni (2); Zaglīs (3).



### Songs of Battle

"Nu ardievu Vidzemīte," a soldiers' song which was well known during the first period of Latvian independence, appeared in the programs on 20 January and 20 February 1988. The group usually sang it during or at the end of performances in the Vidzeme homestead at the Open Air Museum, for example, on 27 June 1991 and 31 August 1991.

Nu ardievu, Vidzemīte,  
Neiešu vairs šai zemē,  
Neiešu vairs savā valā  
Ciema durvis virināt.

Farewell, Vidzeme,  
I will not walk in this land anymore,  
I will not walk freely anymore  
To the village doors.

Lai aug pūri, lai aug mieži,  
Kur jāg cauri drasēdam';  
Nu man drīz būs jādrasē  
Daiļā kara pulcīpā.

Let wheat grow, let barley grow  
Where they ride through, prancing;  
I will soon have to prance  
In a beautiful regiment.

Ja, māmiņa, tu redzētu,  
Kā pušķoja tav' dēlin',  
Tad tu vairsi neraudātu  
Sava dēla auklējum'.

Mother, if you would see  
How they decorate your son,  
Then you would not cry anymore  
For your beloved son.

Uzvilks kara mētelīti,  
Uzliks kara cepurīt',  
Apjozīs ar zobentiņu,  
Cels uz stalta kumeliņ'.

They'll put on a war coat,  
They'll put on a war cap,  
They'll put on a sword,  
And lift him up on a fine steed.

Dziedādami, spēlējami  
Ienaidnieku uzvarēs,  
Dziedādami, spēlējami  
No kara mājas nāks.

Singing, playing music,  
They'll defeat the enemy,  
Singing, playing music,  
They'll come home from the war.

The group sang "Rīgā iešu es, māmiņa" (lead singer Valda Vitola) on 23 August 1991, during the "Flames across the Baltic" demonstration on the tower of Rīga Castle, and 25 August 1991 in Turaida Park, celebrating independence.

Rīgā iešu es, māmiņa,  
Velē balti vilnānītes!  
Dieviņš zina, vai atiešu—  
Strauja teka Daugaviņa.  
Strauja teka Daugaviņa,  
Ka nevara noturēt.  
Vilku zaļu dzīpariņu,  
Noturēju Daugaviņu.  
Ar Dieviņu paliekati,  
Kas stāvatī maliņā!  
Smaga laiva, dziļš ūdenis,  
Strauja teka Daugaviņa.  
Vij, Dieviņi, zelta viju  
Visgarāmi jūras malu—  
Lai nenāca sveša salna  
Šai zemēi ziedu rauti.

I am going to Rīga, mother,  
Wash my kerchiefs white!  
God knows whether I'll return—  
The Daugava flows fast.  
The Daugava flows so fast,  
That it cannot be stopped.  
I cast a green strand of yarn,  
And stopped the Daugava.  
Farewell,  
You who stay ashore!  
The boat is heavy, the water deep,  
The Daugava flows fast.  
God, weave a golden fence  
All along the seashore—  
So that a foreign frost doesn't come  
And kill the blossoms in this land.

### Songs of Childhood/*Kāmtbas*, Marriage and Death

"Tēvu tēvi laipas met" [Vitolipš 1971: 186] was first published in the eighteenth century. The song is listed in the programs for 28-29 November 1987 and 20 February 1988. It was the main theme song for the *Baltica* Festival of 1991 (published on the first page of the festival songbook), and *Skandinieki* performed it at the opening of this festival. The group also sang this song at a name-giving ceremony on August 2, 1991.

Tēvu tēvi laipas met,  
Bērnu bērni izlaipo;  
Lai Dievs dod mūsu bērniņam  
Tās laipas izlaipot

The ancestors of the ancestors build bridges,  
The children of children go across;  
God grant that our child  
Crosses those bridges

Tēvu tēvi laipas met,  
Bērnu bērni izlaipo;  
Tā, bērniņi, laipojat,  
Lai pietika mūžiņam.

The ancestors of the ancestors build bridges,  
The children of children go across;  
Cross carefully, children,  
So that you keep enough for your life.

"Ej, māsiņa, tautiņāsi" [Vitolipš 1968: 45] was sung at the Vilnius *Baltica* Festival in 1987 (listed above; I have also seen a videotape of that performance) and at many other concerts featuring wedding traditions.

Ej, māsiņa, tautiņāsi,  
Dzīvo labi aizgājusi!  
Lai nāk slava tētiņam  
Par šupuļa kārumiņu,  
Lai nāk slava māmiņai,  
Kas tik labi lolojusi,  
Lai nāk slava bāliņam,  
Kas sedloja kumeliņu,  
Kas sedloja kumeliņu  
Māsai jāti tautiņas.

Go, sister and be married,  
Live well in marriage!  
Praise to father  
For making the cradle,  
Praise to mother  
For loving guidance,  
Praise to brother  
Who saddled the horse,  
Who saddled the horse  
For sister to ride into marriage.

"Pūsat taures, bāleliņi" [Vitolipš 1971: #42] was sung at the Barons memorial, 31 October 1986. It also appears on the LP record published abroad in 1985. *Skandinieki* sang the song at the funeral of Rūdolfs Heimrāts on 8 May 1992, as the casket was carried into the cemetery.

Pūsat taures, bāleliņi,  
Lai skan visa pasaulīte!  
Nu iet mana dvēsele  
Pie Dieviņa dziedādama.  
Nevajaga dvēselei  
Trepju kāpti debesīs;  
Mīļš Dieviņš trepes cēla,  
Dvēselīti gaidīdams.

Sound the horns, brothers,  
Let the world resound!  
My soul now goes, singing,  
To God.  
The soul doesn't need  
A ladder to get into the sky;  
Dear Dieviņš raises a ladder  
To welcome the soul.

"Māte savas meitas sauca" appears in the program for 17 August 1987. I also saw it sung at several performances in 1991-1992. At the concert on 15 April 1992, before the group sang the song, Helmī Stalte spoke about the late Jānis Porīķis, member of *Skandinieki* and maker of many *kokles*, who had recently passed away.

Māte savas meitas sauca,  
Vai ir visas vakarāi,  
Rāmi lēnam, rāmi lēnam, rāmi lēnām, rām.

Mother called her daughters,  
Are they all home in the evening.  
Gently, slowly... [refrain]

Ira visas vakarāi,  
Pastarītes vien nevida,  
Rāmi lēnām...

They are all home in the evening,  
Only the youngest one is missing.  
Gently... [refrains not included below]

Pastarīte aiztecējse  
Gar Daugavu spēlēdama.

The youngest one has gone  
Playing by the Daugava River

Gar Daugavu spēlēdama,  
Baltas rozes lasīdama.  
Baltas rozes lasīdama  
Iekrīt pati Daugavāi.  
Daugaviņa nepanese,  
Tā izmeta maliņai.  
Tur izauga kupla liepa  
Devīņiem žuburiemi.  
Tur atnāca svētu rītu  
Dieva dēli kokles cirstu.  
Cērtiet, brāļi, tās koklītes,  
Tās koklītes koši skan!

Playing by the Daugava,  
Picking white roses.  
Picking white roses,  
She falls into the Daugava.  
The Daugava didn't hold her,  
But cast her ashore.  
A great linden tree grew there,  
With nine branches.  
The Sons of God came there  
On the holy morning to make kokles.  
Make kokles from that wood,  
Those kokles will sound beautifully.

### Mythological Song

"Divejādi saule tek" [recorded in 1952, published in the 1988 Baltica program] appears in the program for 20 February 1988. The group also sang it, with Valda Vītola as lead singer, during the Baltica Festival in 1991, while departing from friends who were leaving to go abroad.

Divejādi saule teka—  
Tek kalnāi, tek lejāi,  
Rai, ridi rā,  
Tek kalnāi, tek lejā.

The sun moves twofold—  
It moves uphill and downhill.  
[refrain, second line repeated]

Divejādis mans mūžiņis  
Ar to vienu dvēselīti.  
Rai, ridi rā...

My life is twofold,  
With only one soul.

Aiziet saule vakarāi  
Zelta zarus starodama;  
Kaut manami mūžiņami  
Jel pusīte tā zarotu!

The sun departs in the evening  
Branching out its golden rays;  
If only my life  
Would branch out half as much!

Ozols auga Daugavāi  
Ledaināmi lapiņāmi;  
Tur saulīte miglu meta,  
Vai bij ziema, vai vasara.

An oak grows in the Daugava River  
With icy leaves;  
The sun casts mist there,  
In winter and summer alike.

Trīs rītiņi saule lēca  
Aiz zaļāi ozoliņa;  
Paliek veci jauni puisi,  
Tā kociņa nedabūja.

The sun rose three mornings  
Behind the green oak;  
Young men grow old  
But don't find that tree.

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